Daily Report

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FBIS-EEU-91-079 *24 April 1991*

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Carnogursky Appointed New Slovak Prime Minister

LD2304124991 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1230 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] As we have already informed you, esteemed listeners of our midday Radio Journal, reporters were to learn the results of today's session of the Slovak National Council Presidium at 1400 in the Federation Hall in Bratislava Castle. Our editor Bohus Gecy is among the journalists:

[Gecy] At 1420, Jan Carnogursky, as the new Prime Minister of the Slovak Government, took the oath before Slovak National Council [SNR] Chairman Frantisek Miklosko.

This completed part of the work of the SNR Presidium in the search for a solution of the present complex political situation in Slovakia. This was also said in the resolution of the SNR Presidium adopted today, which was read by Deputy Vladimir Sladek. The resolutions says, among other things, that the Presidium has recalled Vladimir Meciar from the post of prime minister of the Slovak Government and Jan Carnogursky from the post of first deputy Slovak prime minister. At the same time, it has appointed Jan Carnogursky prime minister of the Slovak Republic.

Esteemed listeners, this is the first report I have received from Bratislava Castle. As soon as possible—as soon as we get out of the Castle—we will bring you an interview with the newly appointed Slovak prime minister.

SNR Presidium Dismisses Ministers

LD2304150791 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] The Slovak National Council [SNR] Presidium, according to the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak federation, today dismissed Vladimir Meciar from the post of prime minister of the Slovak Republic.

It asked the SNR chairman to invite Vladimir Meciar to attend at 1300 to hear the results of the SNR Presidium session. Frantisek Miklosko, chairman of the SNR, personally invited Vladimir Meciar by telephone. As Vladimir Meciar did not come to the SNR building at the appointed time, the Council office sent the decree on the dismissal, with the resolution of the SNR Presidium, to the Slovak Government office.

The following, who were invited to attend at 1330, were dismissed by the resolution:

Vladimir Ondrus, dismissed from the post of deputy Slovak prime minister;

Augustin Marian Huska, dismissed from the post of minister for the administration and privatization of national property;

Ladislav Kosta, dismissed from the post of minister of justice;

Michal Dzatko, dismissed from the post of minister of agriculture and food;

Stanislav Novak, dismissed from the post of minister of labor and social affairs;

Milan Knazko, dismissed from the post of minister for international relations; and

Jozef Dubnicek, dismissed from the post of minister of construction and building industry.

As Milan Knazko, Augustin Marian Huska, Stanislav Novak, and Jozef Dubnicek did not attend at the set time, decrees of the Slovak National Council Presidium, together with the relevant resolution of the presidium, were sent to the ministries by the Council Office.

The SNR Presidium today appointed Jan Carnogursky—until now first deputy Slovak prime minister and chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement—to the post of prime minister.

Protest Begins Over Meciar's Dismissal

LD2304151491 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1500 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Shortly after the broadcast of the first news report about the recall of Vladimir Meciar and other ministers, groups of people started to form in front of the building of the Slovak National Council. About 500 supporters of the recalled representatives chanted slogans in support of Prime Minister Meciar and demanded the resignation of the Presidium of the Slovak National Council.

Havel Thanks Meciar for Work as Prime Minister

LD2304152891 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1500 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] President Vaclav Havel has thanked Vladimir Meciar for the work he has done as prime minister of the Slovak Republic Government for all of Czechoslovakia.

In a message given to CTK by the Office of the President of the Republic, Vaclav Havel expressed hopes that Vladimir Meciar, in his future political activity, will continue to carry out this work in a constructive, democratic spirit and for the benefit of all the citizens of our state.

Carnogursky Sworn In; Calls For Unity, Support

LD2304173891 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Excerpts] Following yesterday's one day marathon of talks between Slovak National Council [SNR] Chairman Frantisek Miklosko and representatives of the parties

and movements represented in the legislature, today's deliberations of the SNR Presidium was anxiously awaited. [passage omitted]

The newly appointed prime minister, Jan Carnogursky, was sworn in by SNR Chairman Frantisek Miklosko, who addressed those attending the ceremony.

[Begin Miklosko recording] There are moments when it is necessary to make a decision, to make a decision without knowing what will come the next day. The SNR Presidium experienced such a moment today, and in this kind of spirit we are appointing you, prime minister of the Slovak Government, as the head of the Slovak Government in this very difficult situation.

Because you are a person we have known for the last 20 years as an uncompromising person, a person who with his entire family has done the maximum possible in the struggle for democracy, we know that the continuation of what began in November 1989 on squares throughout Bratislava will be guaranteed.

Esteemed prime minister, I wish you great strength, I wish you much courage, I wish you many successes in everything we intend to achieve in the struggle over the next few days, weeks, in the time to come for Slovakia, for this Slovakia which you like so much, for this country, and for its all citizens. Allow me at the same time to thank the SNR Presidium for everything they have done in these dramatic moments of our recent history. [end recording]

The SNR chairman then handed the microphone to the newly appointed Slovak prime minister, Jan Carnogursky.

[Begin Carnogursky recording] Esteemed Mr. Chairman, esteemed members of the Presidium. I accept the appointment entrusted to me today. I accept it with the knowledge of the responsibility with which you had to make your decision. I accept it with the knowledge of responsibility which this decision places upon me.

I would like to say that I personally, and the government I shall chair, want to carry out the administration of public affairs in Slovakia so the freedom of the population of Slovakia is preserved, so democracy in Slovakia is strengthened, and so citizens in Slovakia are directed toward unity. We shall also strive for our activity to be carried out with the support and cooperation of the Slovak National Council and all citizens of the Slovak Republic.

I thank you for the trust you have given me today. [end recording]

Miklosko Praises Carnogursky, Urges Unity

LD2304184791 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Television address by Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed fellow citizens: As you well know, this morning the presidium of the Slovak National Council [SNR] recalled Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar from his post and also recalled seven other members of the Slovak Government from their posts. It appointed Dr. Jan Carnogursky, until now first deputy prime minister, as the new Slovak prime minister.

The SNR Presidium used a possibility provided for by the Article 122 of the Constitutional Law to recall a member of the government and appoint a new member of the government. In this way the appointment of Dr. Carnogursky comes into force according to the Constitution.

This man is not unknown to us. In the past 15 years Dr. Carnogursky has gained the reputation of a fighter for democracy, a fighter for human rights, a tolerant man, and a man who was prepared even to go to prison for his ideals.

That is why the SNR presidium, fully aware of its responsibility in this critical time, has entrusted this man with responsibility for the future fate of the Slovak Government, which he is to lead.

Esteemed fellow citizens, however paradoxically and however perhaps unacceptable this seems at this moment, I want to reassert all the rules of parliamentary democracy, I want to confirm that the Presidium has decided and that the decision taken by the Presidium is irreversible. I ask you and beg you to be calm and unite around our constitutional bodies, to concentrate on the problems that we are going to face in the next few days.

Thank you.

Kucerak Issues Statement on Meciar

LD2304185991 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] CTK today published a statement by Jozef Kucerak on claims made by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar about the absence of a government economic program. The statement says this is a campaign waged by Vladimir Meciar against Jozef Kucerak and Vladimir Ondrus. If Vladimir Meciar does not intend to consider the coordination of the progress of the economic reform, submitted to the government by Jozef Kucerak and the development strategy of the economy, worked out by Rudolf Kilkus, as the basic starting point materials, then there is indeed no program, the deputy Slovak prime minister says in his statement. In several branches of the economy there is indeed no concept of the transition to the market conditions. Some branches are behaving as if there were enterprise directorates and are solving problems which should be solved by organizations at a lower level.

Slovak Government Appoints Three New Ministers

LD2304200591 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1930 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] The Presidium of the Slovak National Council [SNR], on the basis of a proposal by Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky and according to Article 122, Paragraph 1, letter A of the Constitutional Law No. 143/1968 of the volume on the Czechoslovak Federation, today appointed Helena Volekova to the post of a minister of the government of the Slovak Republic, in charge of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs; Marian Posluch to the post of a minister of the government of the Slovak Republic, in charge of the Ministry of Justice; and Ivan Miklos to the post of a minister of the government of the Slovak Republic, in charge of the Ministry for Administration and Privatization of National Property.

Today's SNR Presidium session ended with the appointment of these new ministers.

VPN-ZDS Criticizes Government Changes

LD2304202391 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1930 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] The organization committee of Public Against Violence-Platform for Democratic Slovakia [VPN-ZDS] pointed out in a statement released by CTK that the Slovak National Council [SNR] Presidium carried out changes in the government without considering the position of the plenum and committees of the SNR. These sought to assess the results of the work of the government.

New Slovak Prime Minister Holds News Conference

LD2304230491 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 23 Apr 91

[News conference by Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky and Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko with unidentified reporters in Bratislava on 23 April—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Allow me to ask you one question: Are you looking forward to doing your work?

[Carnogursky] A poet called the present governments of the Republic the governments of national sacrifice, and I think this description applies to me at the moment.

[Reporter] Much was expressed in your constitutional oath. Hard work is expected of you; therefore, upon what foundation do you begin this hard work?

[Carnogursky] It is a determined awareness that there is no other way, that we have to take this path and, therefore, we will follow it. At the same time, I feel gratitude toward my colleagues who today ended their work in this government. I feel respect for them. I feel gratitude for the work they have done in the government, and I am glad to be able to say it here.

[Reporter] Can you say which colleagues you have in mind?

[Carnogursky] Vladimir Meciar, and all the others who were recalled today—Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Ondrus, Minister Augustin Huska, Minister Ladislav Kosta, Minister Michal Dzatko, Minister Stanislav Novak, Minister Milan Knazko, and Minister Jozef Dubnicek.

[Reporter] The chairman of the Slovak National Council has ushered you into the office with the words that you are entering the scene in difficult times. What do you think is the most difficult thing?

[Carnogursky] To bring about unity among the people of Slovakia.

[Reporter] In what sense of the word?

[Carnogursky] Unity regarding the aims that are ahead of us and approximate unity regarding the way we want to reach these goals.

[Reporter] The popularity of the former prime minister of the Slovak Government among the people is undoubtable. Are you considering any further cooperation with him, even if he is no longer in that important office?

[Carnogursky] I had a good talk with him today. I might even call it a friendly one. We told each other that we will try to have good relations in the future. Mr. Vladimir Meciar offered, if I need any further consultations, in particular about the recent activities of the government, to provide them to me.

[Reporter] What do you expect from tomorrow's plenary 13th session of the Slovak National Council?

[Carnogursky] I do not see any special difficulties in that.

[Reporter] When will the new ministers be known? What will happen if the plenum does not approve or does not agree with the resolution that provides for this?

[Carnogursky] Perhaps here the speaker of the Slovak legislature would like to say something.

[Miklosko] The Slovak National Council Presidium has the right, according to law, to recall and appoint the prime minister and the ministers of the government. According to this law, the approval of the plenum is not necessary. The Presidium has a special position in this regard.

[Reporter] The plenum has the right to recall the Presidium of the Slovak National Council if it does not agree with its verdict?

[Miklosko] The plenum can recall the Presidium, but only on an individual basis, one member after the other.

[Reporter] Will there be any changes in the policy statement of the government?

[Carnogursky] I cannot say so far. Basic changes will not take place. There might be some changes in the implementation of the policy statement.

[Reporter] Mr. Chairman of the Slovak National Council, the ability of the Slovak Government to function has been subject to discussion. Are you worried that the Slovak National Council plenum or its Presidium might be submitted to the same treatment?

[Miklosko] In my discussions with the representatives of the political parties, several were considering if the Slovak National Council Presidium should not be expanded in the proportional representation. So far, there has been no criticism of the ability of the Presidium to function.

[Reporter] What will be your first action as Slovak prime minister?

[Carnogursky] I will acquaint myself with the operative decisions made by the previous prime minister, Vladimir Meciar, and I will have to make a decision about which policies I will continue and which I will not.

[Reporter] What will the coalition look like? Will there be the same one that has been in the government to date, or will a new one be created?

[Carnogursky] It is still not known at the moment. I would like to see the current coalition stay in power. This also means the Public Against Violence, which has divided into two groups, that both its groups should stay in the government. Of course, it is up to them whether they stay in the government, and I can only respect their decision.

[Reporter] When will we learn the names of the new members of the government?

[Carnogursky] It is likely that you will learn some names of the new members of the government this evening, the names of some others perhaps only in the next few days.

[Reporter] Prime minister, will you be speaking tomorrow at the plenary session of the Slovak National Council, and if so, what will you ask from your deputies?

[Carnogursky] Yes, I will take part tomorrow in the plenary session of the Slovak National Council. I will give them some ideas about the plans of the new prime minister of the Slovak Government.

[Reporter] You were a member of Meciar's government. I think you have been relatively well acquainted with the activity of its ministers. How do you view the Presidium's decision to recall these seven ministers whom it recalled today?

[Carnogursky] I respect the decision of the Slovak National Council Presidium because the Constitution and the constitutional law gives it the right to such a decision. As I have said, I thank them for the work they have done so far. It was not easy work, and I part with them, as with the members of the government, with the feeling that they worked with the awareness that they want to do good things for the Slovak Republic.

[Reporter] Prime minister, do you have the feeling that after the removal of these difficult problems, which were in both the Slovak Government and the Slovak National Council, and after you have now become a prime minister, that the internal situation in Slovakia will become calmer?

[Carnogursky, laughing] I will try to do this.

[Reporter] [passage indistinct]

[Carnogursky] I can say that during the talks in the last few days when the coalition parties agreed that I should be prime minister, they agreed upon it based on an assessment of my work to date and not just on my activity in my party.

[Reporter] It has been said that the government actually fell apart because it was unable to agree on the progress of the economic reform. You, as the Christian Democratic Movement, are the only one who has prepared an alternative to the economic reform. Will you follow it, or will it become a topic for further negotiations?

[Carnogursky] In the last few days, in particular yesterday, we—that is some representatives of the Christian Democratic Movement—met with Deputy Prime Minister Kucerak to clarify mutual views on the further process of economic reform. I am optimistic that the government will be able to find a unified way in the further progress of the eocnomic reform.

[Reporter] Are you considering reducing the number of deputy prime ministers, members of the government, and ministers?

[Carnogursky] Yes.

[Reporter] You have taken a solemn oath, not only to the Slovak Republic but also to the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. What is your vision of the future of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic?

[Carnogursky] That a new constitution will be created, that the Slovak Government will stick to constitutional procedures when creating this new constitution, and that this new constitution, also in a formally legal way—that is, by a treaty—will express the equality between the republics that will create the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic.

[Reporter] We think that most of the problems of the current government were created by a lack of contact between the legislature and the government. Did you discuss at the coalition talks how it should change in the future?

[Carnogursky] No, this problem was not mentioned.

[Reporter] The Slovak National Council Presidium actually admitted that it is partially to blame that it started carrying out checks a little bit too late. Will you be just as strict, consistent, and thorough?

[Miklosko] I think that...

[Carnogursky, interrupting] The Chairman of the Slovak National Council and I have known each other for about ten years or even longer. On the basis of that, I know he will really thoroughly check on me.

[Miklosko] I even know how to check on him.

[Reporter] Where will your first trip be?

[Carnogursky] I think that I have enough to do in Bratislava at the moment. Naturally, I think its my duty to meet the president of the Republic and to acquaint him with my plans.

Carnogursky Addresses Slovak Citizens

LD2404023391 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Slovak 2015 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Speech by Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky to Slovak citizens on 23 April; place not given—recorded]

[Text] Dear fellow citizens: At its session today the Slovak National Council Presidium concluded its review of the Slovak Government's activities and decided to recall some of its members. It entrusted me with leading the Slovak Government. It was done on the basis of a proposal by a number of political parties and movements that represent the majority of electors in Slovakia.

I want to thank those members of the government who will not continue in their work for what they have done so far. I know they were doing their best for the prosperity of Slovakia.

I am entering the office of Slovak prime minister during a complicated period. The breakup of the eastern market has put our economy in a very difficult situation. We have to carry out economic reform while searching for new markets for our products and in competition with foreign producers, among other things, for better technology. Inside the republic, discussions are continuing about the form of the new constitutions—whether for the republics or for the federal one. These political and economic pressures were the main source of the crisis in the Slovak Government. The delay in settling the crisis might help the general public to understand better its extent and depth, but it will not help to settle the accummulated problems.

The changed government will continue to fulfill its July 1990 policy statement. We must be able to keep Slovakia within the stream of democratic nations and states. Any other development in Slovakia will only worsen our problems and lead us into international political and economic isolation.

The government will continue to implement the economic reform and try to accelerate it in harmony with our conditions. There is no other way for us. We will simply not be able to hold our ground in competition with others by using the current method of organizing and managing the economy and by preserving current ownership relations. We will not be able to secure prosperity for our citizens.

The government will cooperate with the Slovak National Council and with political parties and movements in creating a new Slovak constitution. Along with the Czech Republic, we want to establish the foundation for a new federal constitution. We are aware that new constitutions will have to guarantee rights and lawfulness in our state and also the starting point for our future place in the family of European states and nations.

The primary method the government and I personally will use to achieve these aims will be telling the truth. We will be telling you the truth—if possible the concrete truth—because it has been written that the truth will make us free.

To tell the truth even in small matters will help us to recognize and name the large problems of the future while they are still in an embryonic state. I am already using the method of telling the truth as a method of government activity when addressing you at this moment. It is obvious that I have been reading this speech from a paper, although television has equipment that makes it possible to read from a page while it still looks like the speaker is speaking off the cuff.

Dear fellow citizens, we can overcome our current difficulties. We will overcome them faster if we preserve mutual solidarity based on the knowledge that the best way to help ourselves is to rely on our own strength, which is based on our awareness that we can think and work. Let us reinforce among ourselves the solidarity of people who trust each other. I appeal to you to join in.

Demonstrators Block Bratislava City Center

LD2404103991 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Text] Demonstrators in Bratislava today completely paralyzed traffic in the city center. People have been gathering in the front of the Slovak National Council building since this morning in which the Slovak legislature is in session. At about 1000 there were about 1,000 people there. At that time, a number of public buses blocked the flow of traffic on Hurban Square and their drivers started to strike. Dozens of taxi drivers joined them. By honking their horns and chanting slogans, the demonstators are demanding the interruption of the Slovak National Council session and asking for a speech by Vladimir Meciar.

Vales Hopes 'Period of Uncertainty' Ending

LD2304214491 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2100 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Federal Deputy Prime Minister Vaclav Vales has provided CTK with an opinion on behalf of Prime Minister Marian Calfa regarding the changes in the Slovak Government.

As he stressed, the important thing for the Federal Government is the fact that the period of uncertainty and conflicts is hopefully ending and that it will have a partner for preparing the program of economic policy for the near future. Vaclav Vales went on to state that the Federal Government needs the national [Czech and Slovak] governments as partners.

Party Officials Comment on Meciar's Dismissal

LD2304210491 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1730 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Representatives of some parties represented in the legislature have expressed their views on the recall of Vladimir Meciar and the appointment of Jan Carnogursky as the new Slovak prime minister.

Jan Marek, first deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party, said: We expect that this change will contribute toward calming down the surface as well as deep currents of Slovak politics. The important thing is to ensure that the Slovak Government is led by a personality who will be aware of his responsibility not only to Slovakia alone.

Tomas Svoboda, central secretary of the Christian Democratic Party, said: We welcome the appointment of Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement, as the solution that will create the atmosphere of a constructive spirit on the Slovak political scene. We also hope that relations between the federal and republican bodies will improve.

Civic Democratic Party Chairman Vaclav Klaus said: Public Against Violence alone has to renew itself and be reborn. I hope that the appointment of the new prime minister will bring about the stabilization of the political life in Slovakia.

Civic Movement Representative Lubor Kinst said: We respect this fact as a decision by the legitimate body, the Slovak National Council.

Jiri Svoboda, chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, said: The recall of Vladimir Meciar shows that the tension between the current bearers of power and the Slovak population's views is becoming ever greater and more dangerous.

Foreign Ministry Views Changes in Slovakia

LD2304202291 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs hopes that the changes in the Slovak Government will contribute toward calming the political situation in Slovakia and toward the immediate start on resolving the pressing economic and social problems of Slovakia, Egon Lansky, the ministry's spokesman, noted today. He also said that the changes in the Slovak Government are fully within the competence of the Slovak constitutional bodies. We think, Egon Lansky said, that the government representation is not predominantly a question of names and persons, but of the interests of Slovakia, its citizens, and thus also the entire federation.

Pithart on 'Hopeful Change' in Slovakia

LD2304193591 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart has said that the change in the Slovak Government is a hopeful change. If the nonfunctioning of the Slovak economy, as the presidium of the Slovak National Council says, is the reason for this dramatic change in the Slovak Government, then this change is, at the same time, a promise that we shall again seek one economy and one reform, and then we will also solve the problem of the state administrative arrangement, the Czech prime minister said.

Talks on Arms During USSR Visit Confirmed

AU2004125991 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 18 Apr 91 p 2

["NO"-signed report: "J. Belcak Spoke With a Soviet General on Arms Exports"]

[Text] Bratislava—In yesterday's Radio Journal program on Slovak Radio, the information was made public that during a banquet held on the occasion of the Slovak Republic Government delegation's visit to the USSR [in March 1991], Minister of Economy J. Belcak discussed with a Soviet general the issue of the further production, and export, of arms manufactured in Slovakia under Soviet license.

Initial Results of SNR's Inquiry Noted

AU2404081491 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 19 Apr 91 pp 1,2

[Alena Melicharkova report: "The Seamy Side of Politics"]

[Excerpts] Exactly one month has elapsed since the adoption of the Slovak National Council [SNR] Presidium's Resolution No. 290, in which it decided to throw light on the connections, and some facts, concerning the

activity of the Slovak Republic Government, its ministers, and its prime minister. Yesterday, finally, the Presidium of the highest legislative body in Slovakia arrived at some specific conclusions. [passage omitted]

We learned some details from Frantisek Javorsky, chairman of the SNR Defense and Security Affairs Committee, who read to us an interim report [of this committee] that has been approved by the SNR Presidium.

On the basis of testimonies by 10 employees of the Slovak Republic Ministry of Interior, Prime Minister Meciar, Interior Minister L. Pittner, SNR Chairman F. Miklosko, and Federal Interior Minister J. Langos, the committee ascertained that "in the critical period between November 1989 and June 1990, extensive personnel changes took place at the ministry, in the course of which a number of former StB [secret police] members found jobs with the Public Security Corps. Some officials of the Slovak Republic Ministry of Interior—[current Deputy Minister] Jaroslav Svechota and [former Deputy Minister] Viliam Ciklamini—were removing dossiers of StB agents without respecting valid regulations governing the handling of, and the keeping of records on, such material. Mr. Svechota had a unspecified number of people screened [for ties with the StB] and used to remove the dossiers of agents from StB archives. He handed over some of them to Mr. Ciklamini. The [subsequent] use of these documents has not been clarified as yet. It cannot be ruled out that other members of the security staff, too, made use of material from StB archives. Removals of material were possible, in particular, between December 1989 and 1 July 1990 [while Vladimir Meciar was minister of interior]."

It emerged from the words of the chairman of the Defense and Security Affairs committee, furthermore, that the committee still intends to question ex-minister Anton Andras and other people. He voiced apprehensions about whether they will be ready, given the present situation, to say everything and to say it truthfully. "People are afraid and await further developments," he said. [passage omitted]

Vladimir Kmet, chairman of the SNR Foreign Affairs Committee, said that, on the basis of his committee's conclusions, the SNR Presidium stated that the Slovak Republic Government lacks a concept for foreign contacts. It also lacks procedural regulations for the preparation, implementation, and evaluation of foreign trips. In February 1991, the Slovak Republic minister of international relations was to present in the government the draft of an SNR law on the preparation and negotiation of international agreements concluded by the Slovak Republic, a task that he has not fulfilled to date. Vladimir Kmet also described as insufficient the preparation of foreign trips by highest-level government delegations. The SNR Presidium also states that the positive development of the Slovak Republic's international relations is negatively influenced by inadequate coordination between the Slovak Republic Ministry of Foreign Relations and the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [passage omitted]

KDH Denies Veracity of Zantovsky Statement

AU2304210091 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 19 Apr 91 p 2

[Report on statement issued to CTK by Rudolf Prochazka, Christian Democratic Movement press secretary, on 18 April; place not given]

[Text] According to a CTK report, on 17 April 1991 Presidential Press Spokesman Michael Zantovsky informed journalists at Lany Castle that the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] does not insist on concluding a state treaty between the Slovak and Czech Republics as the basis for a federal constitution. M. Zantovsky's aforementioned information is not true. During his reception by the president of the Republic, Jan Carnogursky, Slovak first deputy prime minister and KDH chairman, did not change any formulation of the KDH's point of view up to this point regarding the state treaty. The KDH continues to insist upon the conclusion of a legal treaty between the Czech and Slovak Republics that should form the basis for the federal constitution.

Slovak TV Claims 'Censorship' by Federal TV

AU2404090891 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Apr 91 p 2

[CTK report: "They Are Censoring Television"]

[Text] Imrich Steliar, editor-in-chief of Slovak TV's Television News, told a news conference yesterday that "federal bodies" have not yet provided an explanation for the unbalanced proportion of Slovak news items in federal news programs. "True, they do not tell us that we cannot or must not broadcast something on the federal circuit but the selection takes place in Prague. At the same time, so far it has never happened that some 'Czech federal material' did not find its way to the federal news. Our items are faring worse," I. Steliar said. The only way to have all news clips broadcast would be to make sure that the entire CSFR territory is covered by the signal of CTV [Czech Television] and S 1 (first Slovak Television channel), which is not feasible in the present economic situation.

New Communist Party Platform Established

AU2304161391 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Apr 91 p 2

["(pv)"-signed report: "Clubs of the Democratic Left Are Being Formed"]

[Text] Prague—On Wednesday [17 April] Michal Kraus gave a news briefing in the Czech National Council

Communist Deputies' Club on the preparatory committee for the new Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM] ideological stream—the Democratic Left—and on the establishment of Clubs of the Democratic Left. The declaration issued by the Democratic Left states that ever stronger efforts are being made to reevaluate the KSCM's Olomouc program, which acknowledged the values from which its Socialist International program proceeds. "Let us cross the Rubicon and let us adapt the party's name and its organization to the new program," it states.

The declaration appeals for the establishment of Clubs of the Democratic Left. It wants to follow up on the left-wing traditions of the social democratic movement in our country and of those sections in the Communist movement "in which Communists managed to cross narrow class and party lines and become an element of the broad front of democratic forces."

Prime Minister Pithart Queried on Moravia, Reform

LD2304214591 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "A Meeting with the Prime Minister of the Czech Government"—live or recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, the Czech National Council will have more talks this week about the question of Moravia. We have talked about this several times. I would like to return to it yet again. In your opinion, how does this question stand in all the relationships in Czech politics today?

[Pithart] I repeat—and I have found out that one has to repeat things—that a dual priority of the Czech Government is the economic reform, plus self-administration. As to Moravia, I declare that the Czech Government, which is more than inclined to building self-administration, also advocates the self-administration of Moravia. Moravia, too, is keen to get its own self-administration, but this is where lack of clarity and misunderstandings begin. There are two kinds: First, there are disagreements in the understanding of priorities—that is, the view on what to do first; then there are disagreements in the ideas as to the progress and speed of solving the problem of Moravian self-administration.

First, the priorities: Common sense should decide about what to do next, after a considered deliberation. We are not all united about what kind of deliberation is considered, and whose reasoning is more reasonable. We can merely discuss it and vote on it afterward. I think that the problem of Moravian self-administration is important, but that it is not the only one, and not the most important one. I even think that even among the problems of Moravia it is not the most important one. According to a recent public opinion poll, it is becoming apparent that the majority of the Moravian public does not place it in first place. On the other hand, however, a certain part of the public does.

This creates political tension. It is for the same reason that there is no agreement as to progress and policy. I think that self-administration should be built from the bottom, starting with towns and villages. I am convinced that it is not possible in any other way in our disintegrated society, if we do not want it to be built on sand or even on quicksand. Self-administration should be created spontaneously, and if I may say so, in a self-administrative manner. Its creation should thus constitute a process.

A part of the Moravian public, including some political formations, however, advocate a one-stroke action from the top—that is, that self-administration be returned to Moravia, imposed on it, here and now, without a developed and functioning self- administration on the basic level. Some even strive for such a one-stroke action, which would presuppose a change in the Federal Constitution.

I do not say that this is absolutely out of the question, but it is more difficult, much more difficult. Again—contradiction in attitudes produces political tension, but it appears that nothing can be done. A part of the Moravian public has made the Czech National Council discuss the position of Moravia, although other problems have to be solved, even very pressing problems of great importance for the entire society. These political forces have done so upon their own responsibility. I hope that they are aware of this responsibility.

[Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, you mentioned that there are other and more significiant problems; they include those that were discussed by the Civic Democratic Party. Naturally, it is economic reform where criticism occurs, namely that some of our politicians are verbally inclined to the economic reform in its hard form, but, on the other hand, boycott it with their actions. What is your personal view on the economic reform?

[Pithart] I think it is connected with the question of Moravia. There are apprehensions on the part of a number of deputies as to whether or not there will be, in a short term, a specific Moravian problem, a problem of Moravian reform, just as today a requirement for a special Slovak reform has been made. That is perhaps the basic threat to the reform.

The reform cannot appear different in different jparts of the territory of the entire state. The same criteria must be valid everywhere. Otherwise we will not arrive at what is the most important thing, we will not be able to tell what is viable and what is no, what is prosperous and what is not. The more we know, the more we make special concessions, and the more the reform will be threatened.

In connection with the question of Moravia, we have often talked about the exploitation of Moravia. Some deputies for the Moravian movement even calculated

with great precision how Moravia is being exploited by Bohemia, and how, at the same time, Moravia is more productive, how much more it produces. These calculations are very dangerous. I think that any economist can easily fault them, and, above all, a question emerges indirectly as to whether or not a different reform should be carried out in Moravia. But we might as well give up if we had a Slovak, Moravian, and Czech reform.

[Reporter] How is this reform understood within your government?

[Pithart] So far, we have not had any major conflict in the government as to the reform. The first, so far undecided, is the argument about the course of privatization and, at the same time, preservation of the market, that is the argument between minister Jezek and minister Stepova. It is an argument, so to speak, on two levels; each of the ministers is concerned with something else, so it is not so very easy to decide who made a mistake. The government has presented it to its Economic Council, which judges arguments between the ministers.

Otherwise, in the Czech Government apart from normal healthy arguments, there was no direct conflict about the meaning of the reform. On the contrary, the government agreed—and all the ministers agreed, both from the Civic Democratic Party and the Civic Movement—on the kind of government policy which would speed up differentiation between enterprises, between those which we will not save because they do not show any signs of life or viability, and those that will help create such conditions that they may survive—that is, the pivotal and key enterprises in the Czech Republic. Everybody agreed on this plan.

[Reporter] I should naturally also look into the Civic Movement—you being one of its chief representatives. Is there a unity of views in the adoption of the reform? As far as I know, there is a lot of criticism.

[Pithart] There were arguments between Deputy Federal Prime Minister Rychetsky and ministers Klaus and Dlouhy. It will be necessary for these people, and not only these people, to sit down and ask each other: Where is it that our views are truly identical, where do we differ, and how serious are these differences? As far as I know, a representative of the Christian Democratic Alliance has already voiced agreement with such a meeting. It is truly necessary to take stock of the views and ideas, because it is not possible to shoot at each other in this way across a pile of newspapers.

[Reporter] Do you personally feel that there is unity inside the Civic Movement as to the approach to the economic reform?

[Pithart] To be quite frank, I am not really sure. Complete unity inside any party is very difficult to attain, and the question is whether or not it is desirable. In our country there are no militant parties with iron discipline. Naturally, the differences in opinions must not exceed a certain measure, for then the party would lose face, would lose credibility, and the electors would justly look away from it.

[Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, thank you for the interview.

Government Approves Agreements With U.S., Italy

AU2304115091 Prague CTK in English 2052 GMT 18 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 18 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government today approved an agreement on U.S. assistance to Czechoslovak companies seeking to boost foreign trade. The aid will be provided through the Trade Development Program (TDP).

The unconditional aid package, which is worth 150,000 U.S. dollars, is intended to pay for the services of U.S. and possibly Czechoslovak experts in introducing an information system in the area of the trade integrated system, including the training of system operators. The system will be compatible with similar systems operating in the world.

The Czechoslovak Government also approved an agreement with the Italian Government on economic, industrial and technological cooperation. It replaces an outdated agreement of 1970.

The new agreement expresses the two countries' will to promote cooperation in agriculture, in the food, construction and energy industries, as well as in transport, telecommunications and information systems, environmental protection, tourism and education, and in the areas of new technologies and organization of trade.

A joint commission will be set up under the agreement. The Czechoslovak side will be chaired by Federal Foreign Trade Minister Jozef Baksay.

The Czechoslovak Government also approved an agreement with the U.S. Government on cooperation between their customs authorities. It aims at preventing breaches of customs regulations, fighting drug trafficking and providing U.S. specialized training assistance for Czechoslovak customs officials.

Dienstbier on Cooperation With United States

AU2304124691 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 19 Apr 91 p 14

[Report on interview with Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier by unidentified CTK reporter in Washington on 18 April: "The Americans Want To Help Us"]

[Text] At the conclusion of his three-day official visit to the United States, CSFR Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier granted an interview to a CTK reporter in Washington.

In his interview he said that, in a short time, he managed to meet a number of American representatives: President George Bush, Vice President Dan Quayle, Secretary of State James Baker, and officials from the White House and from the office of the Secretary of State. Meetings were also held with the chairmen of the Foreign Affairs Committees of the House of Representatives and the Senate of the U.S. Congress and a number of other members of the U.S. supreme representative body.

In Jiri Dienstbier's opinion, American representatives show an enormous interest in our country and they express their support for it. They are interested in the development of democracy and in retaining the Czechoslovak Federation and they are prepared to take specific steps, for example, to increase imports of some goods.

The situation regarding quotas on importing Czechoslovak textiles to the United States is—to a certain degree—complicated because the textile lobby is very strong in this country. Despite this—according to Minister Dienstbier—all have promised to try and help. There is even another alternative—if it were not possible to open the American market, it would be possible to consider opening the market in a third country—above all, most likely in the USSR—with the help of United States.

The CSFR Foreign Minister held important talks on the problems of the conversion of the Czechoslovak arms industry. The deputy secretary of defense, Mr. Atwood, promised that we would get a list of companies from the United States that are interested in cooperating in this sphere and that the American side will support this interest. J. Dienstbier stressed, in this connection, that civilian production that could replace arms production in our country is the issue.

Talks with representatives from the state of Florida were also interesting; Florida will send a delegation of businessmen and entrepreneurs to Prague next month. Until that time we must prepare a list of enterprises whose products we can export to Florida; and not only there—there are a number of Cubans in Florida who have business interests in Latin America. They are willing to consider credit for our goods exported into third countries and, for example, to build hotels in Czechoslovakia. There are a number of specific proposals, said Minister Dienstbier, yet all will depend on how we will be able to deal with them at home.

In the United States, we also spoke about the participation of Czechoslovak enterprises in the postwar reconstruction of Kuwait, said the chief of our diplomatic corps further. We handed over to one of the World Bank governors a list of CSFR enterprises that have acquired good experience with work in the Middle East and are able to participate in Kuwait's reconstruction. U.S. Secretary of State James Baker promised during our meeting, said Jiri Dienstbier to a CTK reporter, that during his visit to the Middle East—and to Syria in particular—he will be interested in what has happened to our outstanding debt in this country and that he will also support our endeavor to establish closer ties with Saudi Arabia. At the same time, he promised that at the meeting of European Community foreign ministers in Luxembourg he would speak about the necessity of supporting Czechoslovakia.

What is going on in our country is not only a Czechoslovak issue, stressed J. Dienstbier in conclusion, it is a problem for European security—the stability of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. If these countries collapse and if the new democracies do not assert themselves, a new arms race—among other things—will start. This was the message that we tried to convey in the United States and to which everyone here attentively listened, concluded the Czechoslovak foreign minister.

Havel, NATO Official Discuss European Security

LD2404043491 Prague CTK in English 2130 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 23 (CTK)—Norwegian General Vigleik Eide, chairman of the NATO Military Committee, arrived here today to discuss the initiation of contacts between NATO and the Czechoslovak Army and the possibility of cooperation in the framework of a new European security system.

Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and Chairman of the NATO Military Committee General Vigleik Eide expressed today interest on the part of both Czechoslovakia and NATO in developing mutual relations.

Czechoslovakia would like to have a permanent military attache accredited to NATO and is interested in cooperation in the exchange of information and in anti-aircraft and civil defence, Havel said. Czechoslovakia would also like to send students to study at military schools and academies in the NATO countries, Havel said.

After a meeting with Czechoslovak Deputy Defence Minister and Chief Commander of the Army General Staff Major-General Anton Slimak, Eide told CTK that he considers contacts with Czechoslovak representatives very important. In Eide's view, talks with Czechoslovak representatives should become part of a long-term programme of building confidence and strengthening further cooperation. Eide said that an expansion of military contacts was discussed but it would be premature to reveal details.

Slimak told CTK that the Czechoslovak side asked Eide to submit a list of areas in which NATO would like to cooperate with the Czechoslovak Army.

Later this week, Eide will participate in a Prague conference on the "Future of European Security".

Forecasting Institute's Prognosis for Economy

AU2304200291 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Apr 91 p 5

["mhr"-signed report: "Valtr Komarek on the Economy"]

[Text] Prague— "Even though government officials claim that the economy develops in accordance with the projections, present trends indicate that an economic disaster [pohroma] is very likely," Professor Valtr Komarek, director of the Forecasting Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, stated when meeting journalists on Thursday [18 April].

According to the institute's development forecast for the years 1991 to 1992, which it wants to present to the professional public in May, this year's drop in gross national product can be expected to amount not to 5 percent, as the government's projections state, but to 20 percent. This would mean a 150 billion korunas [kcs] reduction of gross national product.

V. Komarek described as the main cause of this development the profound deformation of macroeconomic relations, connected with the grossly exaggerated restrictive policy, which has inevitably led to a drop in demand. The Forecasting Institute estimates this year's drop in real purchasing power of the population alone at kcs80 billion. To this it is necessary to add the drop in sales on Eastern markets and the cuts in expenditures on public consumption.

The continuation of the policy that has been embarked upon might trigger serious social tensions. The forecasters estimate that the number of unemployed in our country could reach 1.5 million next year. At the same time, the type of sacrifice required of the people is not rational.

In the forecasters' opinion, a solution to the existing situation lies primarily in easing the restrictive policy, especially in relation to the population. The basic element of this easement should not focus on price cuts but on proportionate wage increases. This means opting for a philosophy of a certain controlled inflation.

Romanian Parliamentary Delegation Pays Visit

Horn Meets Delegation Upon Arrival

LD2304145991 Budapest MTI in English 1430 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Budapest, April 23 (MTI)—Heading a high-ranking delegation, Corneliu Manescu, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Romanian Parliament, arrived in Budapest on a three-day visit at noon on Tuesday.

The delegation was met at Ferihegy Airport by Gyula Horn, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian National Assembly.

In an interview with MTI's correspondent, Horn said that the talks to be held with the Romanian delegation were part and parcel of the committee's joint six-party programme aimed at promoting the settlement of relations with the neighbouring countries. As the present intensification of links with Romania serves this end, so did the visit of a six-party delegation to the Soviet Union, and will the forthcoming endeavours to establish relations with the Slovak, Austrian and Yugoslav partners.

The Romanian delegation is scheduled to meet Gyorgy Szabad, speaker of parliament, on Tuesday afternoon, and President Arpad Goncz and Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky on Wednesday.

After his arrival, Corneliu Manescu stressed that in spite of the brevity of its visit, the delegation hoped to have an open, sincere dialogue with its Hungarian partners. "Although we are not part of the executive power, we can do a great deal for the development of understanding between the two countries and peoples. This visit reflects the good intentions of the Romanian side to strive for open relations and rapprochement", the Romanian politician said.

Romania's Manescu on Aims of Visit

LD2304224691 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Interview with Corneliu Manescu, chairman of the Romanian Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, by Levente Sutod at Budapest Airport on 23 April—recorded; Manescu speaks in Romanian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Manescu] We are a parliamentary delegation and thus are not members of the executive power; however, we can have a significant role in the improvement of relations of the two peoples. We have not worked out any kind of program in advance. We have no daily subjects planned, and this means that we can freely discuss the issues raised.

[Sutod] In your view, can the Bucharest visit of President Mitterrand bring changes in Romanian policy, primarily on the minority issue?

[Manescu] Why should Mitterrand's visit bring change? Mitterrand did not come to Romania to initiate some kind of change in Romanian policy. We have a given policy. [passage omitted]

[Sutod] Can your delegation's visit to Budapest be seen as a kind of continuation, for the first steps [in bilateral diplomatic visits] took place in the sphere of cultural links?

[Manescu] Yes, our visit is explicitly political in character and what is at issue is a very significant step. It illustrates the good will and openness of the Romanian side, the fact that we are striving to achieve a rapprochement; [kozeledes].

National Assembly Speaker Meets Romanians

LD2304225891 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] The speaker of the Hungarian National Assembly warned that Hungary and Romanian cannot join Europe to the detriment of each other. Gyorgy Szabad said this when he received the chairman of the Romanian Parliament Foreign Affairs Committee and his entourage. He stressed that the two countries' economic relations have to be placed on new foundations based on shared interests and mutual equality.

The chairman of the Romanian Parliament Foreign Affairs Committee was also of the same opinion. Corneliu Manescu said that the disputed questions can be resolved by negotiations; however, understanding and trust are needed from both sides for this.

Gyorgy Szabad proposed that relations of the leaders and committees of the two legislatures should be regulated in a comprehensive agreement, and he expressed his hope that the Hungarian-Romanian joint committee of historians will renew its work again soon.

Prior to this, the Romanian delegation met with their hosts, the leaders of the Hungarian National Assembly Foreign Affairs Committee. Gyula Horn, its chairman, said that the Hungarian deputies formulated specific proposals regarding several of the disputed questions of bilateral relations. Real negotiations, however, can be expected to start only after the Romanian delegation informs the entire Foreign Affairs Committee tomorrow about its reply to the proposals.

Assembly Delegation Member on Moscow Talks

LD1604223691 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 16 Apr 91

[Interview with Istvan Hegedues, member of the Federation of Young Democrats, by Gabor Izbeki in Moscow; date not given—recorded]

[Text] The six-party delegation from the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian Assembly have been holding talks in Moscow for two days. One member of the delegation is Istvan Hegedues, who represents the Federation of Young Democrats. Our reporter Gabor Izbeki talked to him.

[Izbeki] What are the chances of normal, good-neighborly relations between Hungary and the USSR, with cooperation corresponding to real interests—normal relations?

[Hegedues] There is a real chance of this. All our negotiating partners started by saying they accept the sovereignty of Hungary at every level, they are interested in improving relations between the two countries.

At the same time we conducted firm negotiations first with politicians at a federal level, at the Supreme Council Foreign Affairs Committee, where we seriously discussed the topical debating issues.

[Izbeki] Signing the new treaty, you mean, which is half ready, but the final touches are still outstanding. What were the views on this?

[Hegedues] We only talked in general about the new treaty. I think it is important that I make this clear. Naturally, we did not go into the text of the proposals because the governments will have to put this treaty into its final form, but afterward the Hungarian Assembly must ratify it. So we discussed the question in some depth. It seems that, contrary to our earlier evaluations the treaty is to some extent at a dead end. There are one or two questions that will not be solved as quickly as hoped.—For example, raising the question that Hungary and of course the USSR should not belong to anti-Soviet or anti-Hungarian treaties, which is what the Soviet partner wishes to include in the treaty. This, was unacceptable to the Hungarian negotiating delegation, the government delegation, and here the six parties do support the Hungarian Government's idea.

[Izbeki] The fact that the Soviets regard guarantees for their own security to be more important than necessary has clearly been influenced by the fact that the Warsaw Pact has ceased to exist. What requirements did the USSR want in this context? What position would be acceptable to them, and in general are they afraid of a situation where NATO would reach to the Soviet borders?

[Hegedues] The fact that the Warsaw Pact is dead, is no longer functioning, has been admitted at the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Soviet legislature as well Whether Hungary is to join other alliances, here I think the fear in the USSR is primarily from NATO. They continue to regard NATO as a hostile block, which is continuing to arm, while on the other side the Warsaw Pact is collapsing. We tried to present arguments which would prove that even earlier NATO was not just an exclusively military alliance, and also that inside NATO the military cooperation is being modified in favor of cultural and economic cooperation.

Antall Attends MDF Christian Democratic Meeting

LD2104193291 Budapest MTI in English 1653 GMT 21 Apr 91

[Text] Budapest, April 21 (MTI)—With a closing speech by Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, president of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) [MDF], the two-day conference of the Christian Democratic group of the HDF held in Gyor-Menfocsanak (W Hungary) ended on Sunday.

In his speech, Antall spoke about the three spiritual trends within the HDF, the spiritual heritage of the National, the National-Liberal and the Christian Democratic trend. These three are present together in the HDF, making it different from other Hungarian political parties.

The Christian Democratic group of the HDF is an intellectual workshop interpreting the Christian Democratic heritage for people of the late 20th century, Antall said.

The 2,000-year old Christianity is a universal feature connecting the peoples of Europe since the Middle Ages, Antall said.

The HDF is a political programme party that was able to become the winner of the 1990 elections because it asserted the values of Christian Democracy and thus it showed features familiar for Europe, Antall stated.

Speaking about home affairs, Antall said that the most pressing issue was the settling of ownership relations.

The Hungarian parliament is expected to pass a resolution on the compensation bill next week.

Antall, however, warned against cherishing illusions, saying there was no perfect solution for settling ownership relations, either economically, politically, legally or morally.

Antall rejected the accusation that the present government was lacking expertise. Among recent achievements he mentioned that the currency reserves of Hungary had been tripled in a year's time, inflation had been more controlled than in Poland and that the majority of Hungarian exports could be directed to hard-currency markets after the collapse of Eastern markets.

Antall pointed out that the debt of Hungary had shown a reduction since the government's taking office. At the same time, he admitted that there were real reasons behind the pessimism of the Hungarian people, as the living standard of the majority of the population had deteriorated.

Opinion Poll Results on Popularity of Parties

AU1904102691 Budapest MTI in English 0940 GMT 18 Apr 91

[Text] Budapest, 18 April (MTI)—If Hungary held general elections today, the Federation of Young Democrats (FYD) would win, revealed a public opinion poll conducted in the third week of March by Modus Ltd. The conclusions of the poll involving 3,000 respondents are carried by the Thursday issue of MAGYAR HIRLAP.

The majority of those asked specified which parties they favoured. The pollers concluded that the rest, 46.5 percent of the respondents, would stay away from the elections.

The breakdown of votes showed the following pattern (the actual proportion of votes cast for party lists in last year's elections in brackets): Federation of Young Democrats 35.2 (9), Alliance of Free Democrats 18.4 (21.4), Hungarian Democratic Forum 13.6 (24.7), Independent Smallholders' Party 12.2 (11.7), Hungarian Socialist Party 6.9 (10.9), Christian Democratic People's Party 4.3 (6.5), non-parliamentary parties 9.4 (15.8).

The poll revealed that the popularity of the Democratic Forum has decreased in all strats of society. The Free Democrats, having a stable electoral base, gained popularity among skilled workers and lost it among pensioners. The proportion of the latter increased particularly among the Smallholders' supporters. The Christian Democrats have a stable base, including mainly pensioners and unskilled workers. It was primarily the workers who have lost their confidence in the Socialists. The popularity of the Young Democrats has increased in all social strata.

POFOSZ Chairman on 'Anti-U.S. Statements'

AU1804091991 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 16 Apr 91 pp 1,3

[Interview with Jeno Fonay, chairman of the National Federation of Former Political Prisoners (POFOSZ), by Janos Laszlo; place and date not given: "POFOSZ Will Hit the Table"—first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Excerpts] In recent weeks and months the National Federation of Former Political Prisoners [POFOSZ] has become the center of public attention. It became known recently that about a dozen POFOSZ members are employed as advisers with the National Security Office. Similarly, a recent letter sent by POFOSZ to the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] in which the former called upon the MSZMP to set up a compensation fund from the membership dues of the 800,000 former MSZMP party members also attracted great public attention. The latest development that has stirred a smaller commotion was the speech delivered by POFOSZ Chairman Jeno Fonay at a meeting in Bekescsaba, in which he made anti-U.S. statements. According to one report, Jeno Fonay declared that "we will rule" after 30 June 1991. In his interview below, Jeno Fonay firmly denies this.

[Laszlo] Mr. Fonay! What was really said at that meeting in Bekescsaba on 13 April?

[Fonay] I started my speech in Bekescsaba by saying that I am here now because I was the victim of the former regime. Apparently, there were 800,000 party members in this country; therefore, the rest of the population could be considered as political prisoners. I warned my audience that we Hungarians should not go against the wall once again and, therefore, just as we did from morning to evening in prisons at that time, we must all think again. Many people might consider our speeches too harsh because Soviet troops are still stationed in Hungary and they will only leave Hungary on 30 June. Until that day, Hungary's sovereignty is questionable. I also stressed at the meeting that we should also bear in mind that the United States had already let Hungary down once to a certain extent, and that was on 23 October 1956. [passage omitted]

[Laszlo] Do you really think that the POFOSZ time will come on 30 June?

[Fonay] All I said about 30 June was what I mentioned before. The rest of the claims are simply not true; however, there is absolutely no doubt that there will be some kind of change after the aforementioned date. If nothing else, there will be a definite increase in volume. I do not think that those who now exercise restraint will continue to use the same tone in demanding their lost property back after 30 June. [passage omitted]

[Laszlo] Many people are worried about the activity of POFOSZ members in the National Security Office. In your view, why is your presence necessary?

[Fonay] I no longer regard the issue of our presence in the National Security Office in the way I did one week ago. At that time, I still did not know from which way the winds were blowing. I see now that the attacks on the issues of compensation, restitution, and national security come from the same place. The Committee for Historical Justice has serious contacts with the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] and I also have many good friends there because we used to demonstrate together and be harmed together. It seems this can be forgotten with time, however. I do not know why they fail to ask us. Every Hungarian citizen has the right to take a job with the National Security Office, and I never question anyone's right to work in any job. [passage omitted]

[Laszlo] Why did you appeal to the MSZMP?

[Fonay] Aware of the delays in the National Assembly, one of our members wrote a letter in which he blames the MSZMP for the things that happened in the past and tries to persuade them to set up a compensation fund from the membership fees of their former members to benefit the former victims. I think that the MSZMP took

our appeal seriously and promised to consider it. The former split in the MSZMP is not our business; they will have to decide whom to take into consideration.

Finance Ministry Official Assesses Economy

LD2304211591 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Excerpts] (Kata Pilenyes) reports that the Ministerial Interest Coordination Council heard a report on the state of the economy today.

[(Pilenyes)] Unfortunately, the situation is worse than expected. This is how (Gyorgy Nosvaldi), deputy state secretary for the Ministry of Finance assessed the budget processes for the first quarter of the year. The report, to be submitted to the government, the details of which are yet unpublished, makes it clear that income sources are uncertain, the gross national product will be smaller, while the wages outflow will be greater than anticipated. As a result, of the 7 billion forints reserve fund, 1.5 billion will be spent to compensate for the rise in interest rates for home loans, 1.3 billion for setting up administrative courts, and only 1.5-2 billion for salvaging budget-financed areas in mortal danger. [passage omitted]

All worker representative bodies agree that the circle financed by the budget in a method favored by the government, is unacceptable. The deputy state secretary confirmed that the justness and grounds of demands made on the government are not in doubt; however, should these be adopted, a new budget would be required.

Defense Ministry Official on New Defense Concept

AU1904172691 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Apr 91 p 5

[Interview with Lieutanant General Antal Annus, administrative state secretary at the Defense Ministry, by Tibor Eszes in Budapest on 16 April: "Defense on New Foundations"—first three paragraphs are NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] With the disbanding of the Warsaw Pact, a completely new situation has emerged including from a defense viewpoint in the changed world both around us and at home. With the conclusion of the withdrawal of Soviet troops on 30 June, Hungary will become a truly independent state, and it is essential for Hungary to lay the defense principles and requirements on new foundations—Antal Annus said when informing us about the new defense concepts already worked out and which will be soon submitted to the government and to the National Assembly.

At a forum organized by the Europe Association, the Federation of Technical and Scientific Associations, and the Hungarian Engineers' Academy on 16 April, Antal Annus said that the Hungarian Republic was striving to guarantee its security mainly by means of political, diplomatic, and other contacts, rather than by means of arms. Hungary wants to reorganize its Army into a defensive Army, and Hungary does not regard any country as an enemy and does not want to achieve any goal by military force or pressure. Hungary, therefore, does not possess weapons of mass destruction; nor does Hungary allow such weapons on its territory. "At the same time, we must guarantee our basic defense interests against possible aggressors, and this is a huge task covering intelligence and analysis activity as well as an efficient Army. We can only achieve all this with overall national support and with sacrifices; therefore, defense development must not be a party policy issue"—Antal Annus said. Over the long term, Hungary's participation in the collective European security system might bring some relief, but a lot is still to be done for such a system to emerge. For the time being, bilateral and multilateral security agreements seem to be the best solution.

The Hungarian economy represents the conditions of military-defense principles and, because of the limitations of the Hungarian economy, for the time being Hungary must "take rational security risks" in reorganizing its defense and achieving an adequate level of necessary defense. In international average, 3 percent of the GNP is generally used on Army development to reach the aforementioned minimal goal. In the case of the Hungarian Army, which has rather obsolete means as it is, this amounts to only 1.9 percent. For Hungary's active defense, the new military doctrine stipulates a smaller but more modernly equipped Army within three years. The plans call for a reduction of 30,000 troops. Real technical development programs can only start in the middle of the current decade, if financial means are available. At the same time, one should know that a much smaller Army cannot be cheaper either. On the contrary, if next year's budget cannot guarantee at least the real value of this year's reduced defense budget, it will be impossible to achieve even the aforementioned minimum changes.

[Eszes] What about the issue of our bilateral cooperation agreement with the Soviet Union?

[Annus] It is not proper to speak about details prior to signing this agreement. In principle, this agreement will be similar to those already signed with Romania and the CSFR, but it will also have special elements, including the fact that most of our weapons and equipment originate from the Soviet Union, and we will have to solve the supply of spare parts for some time. In addition to regular consultations on security policy principles and military-technology views, the agreement will also include mutual invitations to military exercises, mutual participation in military training, mutual "observation" of air defense systems to exclude the possibility of conflict in case of mistaken violation of air space, mutual exchange of data on troops deployed in border areas, as well as regular meetings between various leaders; thus, the agreement is strengthening openness and confidence. As a result, the defense systems will become more

"tangible" in our area and every intention that might hurt our healthy relations will be discovered and handled more efficiently.

[Eszes] Could these bilateral agreements also refer to any side's relations with a third country? Could these agreements hinder these contacts?

[Annus] The agreements signed so far do not refer to a third country. Although I cannot predict the future, in my opinion an independent and sovereign country has to develop its relations with third parties by itself, and this cannot apply to the other state's legitimate security interests to bind the hands of any of its neighbors. Bilateral agreements should exclude double-dealing.

[Eszes] Steps aimed at strengthening confidence are mutually advantageous. In our case, however, what does the often used term "negative security guarantee" mean?

[Annus] For example, our decision to eliminate weapons of mass destruction from our arsenal and to ban such weapons on our territory. We must also exclude the possibility of anyone dictating to the other, by using security interests. These agreements cannot be unilateral!

[Eszes] To what extent are the rumors true that the signing of a new Hungarian-Soviet interstate agreement is delayed because of the delays in signing a military agreement?

[Annus] In my opinion, we must proceed very carefully: This is not a race for first place. We must consider here one thing—namely, the interests of the Hungarian Republic, as well as the interests of the Soviet Union, in a way to coordinate them. We must mutually consider each other's security and basic interests. Careful procedure can only contribute to the final result that will be in force for many years to come.

Army General Details Further Cuts in Military

LD1904202191 Budapest MTI in English 1829 GMT 19 Apr 91

[Text] Budapest, April 19 (MTI)—The number of personnel in the Hungarian Army will be cut to 100,000 by the end of the year, and to 90,000 next year, Lieutenant General Bela Gyuricza, Army Commander, told a press conference in Szekesfehervar on Friday. In peacetime, two thirds of all the staff will be made up by professional and contracted soldiers, he said.

Over the past two years, the number of personnel of Hungary's land forces has been cut by 15,000 (32 per cent), Gyuricza said. With the introduction of the lower 12-month service period, both the professional and conscript soldiers have to cope with more tasks and work at an increased tempo. The conscripts, general state of health has deteriorated, and a growing number of soldiers are facing social problems, Gyuricza said. Lack of discipline is posing a growing challenge, with more soldiers leaving the garrison arbitrarily, getting drunk and causing road accidents, the Army commander said.

Walesa Leaves on Visit to Great Britain

LD2304105591 Warsaw PAP in English 1031 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Warsaw, April 23—Polish President Lech Walesa left for a four-day official visit to Great Britain this morning.

Before his departure, the president told reporters that the goal of the visit was to encourage Great Britain to participate in the reforms taking place in Europe.

Premier Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, who bid farewell to President Walesa, said that there was a growing interest of Britain in Poland and underlined that such visits fostered business.

Poll on Attitudes Toward Government, Army, Church

LD2304112491 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0430 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Three-quarters of those polled trust the Army, 69 percent trust the church, 64 percent trust the police—these are the results of a poll of a representative sample of Polish adults carried out by the Public Opinion Research Center in April. In comparison with March, trust in the church has fallen insignficantly, while that for the Army and the police has risen. Trust in President Lech Walesa has also risen slightly. A larger number of those polled declared their trust in the government than in March. Over half view Jan Krzysztof bielecki as a good prime minister. The Sejm and Senate continue to lose out. More people say that the situation in Poland is developing in a good direction.

Walesa, Bielecki Win Approval

LD2304204191 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1730 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Seventy percent of those polled by the Center for Public Opinion Research think President Walesa's activities serve society well and are in its interest. Twenty percent hold a different opinion. The public's approval of Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki's activities is very close to the assessment of the president: 68 percent positive and 15 percent negative.

Assaults on Citizens Protested to FRG

LD2304185791 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] In connection with incidents that took place in recent days after the lifting of visa restrictions for Poles traveling to the FRG, Aleksander Krzyminski, under secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has had a conversation with Dietrich Vogel, FRG charge d'affaires ad interim in Poland. After citing examples of assaults and insults against Polish citizens and of damage to their property in FRG territory, Aleksandr Krzyminski expressed the concern of the Polish public and the Polish authorities over the escalation of these events and the insufficient reaction by local authorities and the German police. The Foreign Ministry representative demanded that sufficient action be taken by German authorities and the police to insure safety for Polish citizens traveling to the FRG and in transit to other European countries.

Dietrich Vogel expressed regret over the incidents and pledged to communicate the Polish stand to Bonn without delay.

North Atlantic Assembly Group Received by Sejm

LD2204134991 Warsaw PAP in English 1111 GMT 22 Apr 91

[Text] Warsaw, April 22—Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz today received members of the sub-committee for the future of the Armed Forces at the North Atlantic Assembly, now on a visit to Poland.

The guests took interest chiefly in Poland's international relations and its prospects after the disintegration of the Warsaw Treaty and the CMEA, Kozakiewicz told PAP.

They wanted to know what our attitude would be towards a proposal to set up an institution of members associated in NATO for East European states. I also answered questions about the coming elections and the alignment of political forces in Poland, Kozakiewicz said.

After the meeting, members of the sub-committee started their first round of talks with representatives of the Sejm on the restructuring of the Polish Army.

Senate Approves Constitutional Amendments

AU2204103691 Warsaw PAP in English 2256 GMT 18 Apr 91

[Text] Warsaw, April 18—At its meeting here today the Polish Senate proposed several corrections to the amendments to the constitution adopted by the Sejm (lower house) two weeks ago, as most of the senators opined it would not delay the work on a new electoral law to the Parliament.

The senators opted for crossing out the provision requiring a five-year domicile in Poland from candidates for MP's, stating that only persons with Polish citizenship should be given the right to be elected.

In order to avoid a simultaneous existence of the old and newly elected Parliaments, senators suggested that a new term of office should start from the day of the elections rather than the first sitting of the new Parliament.

The president should rule the nearest elections to be held by the end of October, the Senate said.

The senators also decided to cross out formulations connected with the rejected socialist system from the constitution, like "socialist discipline of work" or "working people of towns and villages".

Also today the Senate discussed the three trade union laws postulating to give the right to launch a strike not only to

trade unions but to strike committees as well, and to cross out the provision on protest actions of farmers as this should be regulated by a separate law. Voting on the corrections to the trade union laws is to take place on Friday.

Citizens Committees on IMF, Nomenklatura

AU2304121791 Warsaw PAP in English 2138 GMT 21 Apr 91

[Text] Warsaw, April 21—Sharp criticism was directed against the government's economic policy by Presidential Advisory Committee member Stefan Kurowski at a conference of the citizens' committees here today.

Kurowski blamed the cabinet for its submissiveness to the International Monetary Fund telling Poland in detail what it should and what it should not do in the economy. This is, he said, why recession intensified and showed up in the form of a 4.5 percent industrial production decline by the end of March.

Kurowski did not specify, however, what should be done to improve the economic situation.

The conference which adopted 8 resolutions on various issues asked local committees to forge electoral alliances based on Christian, democratic and independence forces, and called upon the president to veto the Sejm's (lower parliamentary house's) constitutional amendment which strips Poles living abroad for the past 5 years of their right to run for parliamentary seats.

The discussants also protested against Soviet General Victor Dubinin's new arrogant statement that several thousand Soviet troops would remain in Poland till 1994.

Vice-President of the National Citizens' Committee Jan Olszewski warned against consolidating nomenklatura structures. The participants in the conference were of the opinion that such a consolidation was partly possible due to the biased picture of the political scene in main mass media.

The conference also demanded the earliest possible parliamentary elections and an end to the Sejm's efforts to gain time in this field.

Center Accord Chairman on Building Coalition

LD2304213291 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] After his election as chairman of the Center Accord main board, Jacek Maziarski has resigned from the post of under secretary of state in the President's Chancellery. Lech Walesa conveyed his thanks for Maziarski's work. Jacek Maziarski said that the building of a coalition before the general election is the most important task for the Center Accord. This cannot be an alliance that will break up very quickly, such as the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group. We see a coalition with the participation of the Center Accord, citizens' committees, and activists of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity. Such an alliance can count on public support, Jacek Maziarski said.

Independence Party Registered in Warsaw

LD2304202591 Warsaw PAP in English 1723 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Warsaw, April 23—The Polish Independence Party - Party of the New Right was registered in the Warsaw voviodship court today.

The party, led by Romuald Szeremietiew, existing since 1985, was and is against all forms of cooperation with communists, stood against the "round table" talks formula. It also speaks in favour of the removal of representatives of the old nomenklatura from state structures.

Statistics Show Fall in Production, Deficit Up

LD2004075191 Warsaw PAP in English 2225 GMT 19 Apr 91

[Text] Warsaw, April 19—Falling demand was the overriding factor shaping the economic situation of Poland in the first quarter of 1991, according to a GUS (Main Statistical Office) report published today.

Money incomes (and reserves) of the population grew at a slower pace than prices. Smaller home demand coupled with tougher conditions in foreign markets, especially in the Central and Eastern European countries, led to a fall in production. Consequently, profits of enterprises and taxes paid by them to the budget decreased.

The budget deficit as of March 31 stood at 6.5 trillion zlotys. Last year's surplus of exports over imports, estimated at 6 percent of industrial production, was reversed in the first quarter of this year with imports exceeding exports at the level of 3 percent of industrial output. Hence, foreign trade ceased to be a production-stimulating factor.

In the first quarter production fell by 4.5 percent compared to early January, and by 15 percent compared to the fourth quarter of 1990.

Retail prices of consumer goods increased by 25.6 percent compared to the fourth quarter of 1990. Wages in the six basic economic sectors decreased by 5.4 percent in real terms, although nominally they grew by 18 percent.

During the first quarter of April, food prices went up by one per cent compared to the last quarter of March, a GUS estimate said.

Prices of fruit and vegetables recorded the highest increase of 9 per cent and of soft-drinks by 4.3 per cent. Eggs went up by 1.9 per cent, cereals by 1.6 per cent and bread by 1.3 per cent.

Butter went down by 3.8 per cent, prices of other edible fats were lower by 2.8 per cent. Prices of dairy products, meat, fish, coffee and noodles went down just below one percent.

Bulgarian Foreign Minister Pays Official Visit

Vulkov Arrives, Makes Statement

AU2204184091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1723 GMT 22 apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/4/1991—Mr. Viktor Vulkov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs, arrived in Bucharest on Monday on an official visit to Romania at the invitation of Mr. Adrian Nastase, Romania's minister of foreign affairs.

A first round of talks between the two countries' foreign ministers started in the afternoon.

Before beginning the talks the guest stated to a ROMPRES editor: "I want to mention that this is a normal visit to specify our mutual stands between the foreign ministers of the two friendly and neighbour countries which have to solve similar problems but also special problems, each country having its nuances and which embarked on the path towards Europe."

Holds 'Official Talks' With Nastase

AU2304153291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0944 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/4/1991—Official talks have been resumed between Adrian Nastase, Romania's foreign minister and Viktor Vulkov, vice president of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Bulgaria. Over the two days, Monday, 22 April and Tuesday, 23 April, aspects have been discussed of the development of bilateral and international Romanian-Bulgarian cooperation.

Received by Iliescu, Roman

AU2304182591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1621 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/4/1991—On April 23 Romania's President Ion Iliescu received Viktor Vulkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria.

They informed each other about the current economic and political situation in the two countries. Both sides emphasised their wish to develop mutual collaboration as well as the satisfaction over the dialogue which is reflected in the statement of principle now under elaboration which is to precede the signing in Sofia of the new treaty of collaboration between Romania and Bulgaria.

The deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, Viktor Vulkov, was received Tuesday morning by Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman.

'Positive' Talks Viewed

AU2304193891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1906 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/4/1991—Romania and Bulgaria intend to elaborate and adopt in about two months a political declaration, and in the next two months to elaborate and sign a treaty of good neighbourhood and cooperation to replace the present treaty which is obsolete from all points of view, announced the two countries' foreign ministers, Adrian Nastase and Viktor Vulkov, during a press conference held in Bucharest on Tuesday at the conclusion of their talks and of the Bulgarian dignitary's interviews with Romania's president and prime minister.

The two ministers appreciated that in future the contacts between Romania and Bulgaria would mark "a new stage" through meetings of the two countries' premiers and presidents.

We agreed to pass to the elaboration of the new treaty of collaboration between Bulgaria and Romania, stated the Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs after having been successively received on Tuesday, April 23 by Romania's president and prime minister.

We have set the premises for the new meeting of the two countries' presidents in Sofia, Viktor Vulkov added.

Referring to the "very friendly and sincere" talks held with his Romanian counterpart, the dignitary qualified them as "discussions between the foreign countries of two neighbour and friendly countries, appreciating that the relations between them "will develop more intensely, keeping all the positive elements with which history enriched them."

The Bulgarian minister specified that, in the ecologic field, "there is an agreed-upon programme," that, after the expertise of the international commission, "a series of measures were taken," that "everything goes in keeping with the understandings."

He also emphasised that the traffic capacities would be expanded at the two check points of the Bulgarian-Romanian border and announced that he decided together with his Romanian counterpart to mutually annul the compulsory exchange of hard currency.

In his turn, Adrian Nastase present at these interviews qualified as "extremely constructive" his talks with Viktor Vulkov with whom he decided "to negotiate a common statement which should set the cooperation between Romania and Bulgaria on new bases and later on to conclude a bilateral treaty to replace the old one now in force."

The Romanian minister also informed that discussions we held on the possibility "to think of a better framework for the economic relations which after the CMEA dissolution have diminished very much, a diminution enjoyed by neither of us."

France's Mitterrand Interviewed on Visit

AU2204210191 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 18 Apr 91 pp 1, 6

[Interview with French President Francois Mitterrand by ADEVARUL reporter Dumitru Tinu and ROMANIA LIBERA reporter Crina Sirbu in Paris; date not given: "Side by Side With and in Favor of Romania" — first three paragraphs are ADEVARUL introduction]

[Text] As of today, Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic, is Romania's guest. Welcome, Mr. President!

France, which sided with the December revolution from the very first moment, has again proved that it is consistent. Invitations have been sent to the French president on several occasions in the past, but he turned them down, thus putting a significant distance between himself and a regime whose antihuman policy could not be endorsed by a democratic country like France. For his political gesture then, as for his gesture now, we can only say: Merci la France, merci monsieur le president! [in French, as published; Thank you, France, thank you Mr. President!]

Our newspaper is honored to be able to publish the interview President Francois Mitterrand agreed to give to two Romanian dailies—ADEVARUL and ROMANIA LIBERA. Aside from the common questions, Mr. Mitterrand also gave separate answers to questions asked exclusively by the two newspapers. Here is the interview given by President Mitterrand on the eve of his visit.

[Question] This is the first visit to Romania by the head of state of such an important country as the French Republic after the December 1989 revolution. What significance do you attach to this visit?

[Mitterrand] Indeed, it is the first visit to your country by a French president since 1979. At the same time, it is the first visit by the head of a Western state, after the events in Romania of more than a year ago. In my opinion, the visit has a double significance.

First, it will take note of Romania's efforts to overcome the consequences of a dictatorial system and to draw closer to its traditional partners, particularly in Europe.

On the other hand, my visit marks the desire of France, which has sided with Romania since December 1989, to strengthen our relations of cooperation, which have intensified in all spheres, and to grant Romania the necessary assistance to regain its due place in Europe.

[Question] Shortly before 22 December 1989, your assertion that the days of the Ceausescu regime were numbered became the subject of much comment and speculation. Mr. President, can you tell us what made you say such a thing at that time?

[Mitterrand] The maintenance of that regime became inconceivable once other similar regimes gave in under the pressure of the respective peoples. On top of that, France, which has long since maintained relations of friendship with the Romanian people, could hardly fail to note the real sentiments of loathing for that regime and the aspirations of a whole nation.

[Question] Mr. President, you belong to what one would call the political super elite of the world, who have reached this position after having covered a long distance along the road of democracy. How do you explain the fact that individuals like Nicolae Ceausescu—whose noxious imposture should have been punished much more promptly—could and can maintain themselves in this prestigious circle and even enjoy a large audience, at some definite point in time?

[Mitterrand] One should refer to the context of international tension and East-West rivalry, which the Ceausescu regime knew how to exploit by presenting itself as a kind of intermediary.

Regarding the audience you mentioned, I do not believe that it really existed. It was rather the advantageous picture that a dictator wanted to paint for himself—both at home and abroad—through propaganda.

[Question] In the past year and a half, one has noticed an intensification in bilateral Romanian-French relations. There are many contacts and various cultural events—such as a Romanian radio station broadcasting in French, many TV broadcasts taken over from France via satellite, and so forth. In view of all this, can one say that France gives Romania a privileged place in its international relations?

[Mitterrand] There is no doubt that France is a Western state that mobilized itself more rapidly and fully to come to Romania's assistance. I believe this answers your question. First, we offered emergency aid: as early as the days of December 1989, the state secretary for humanitarian action and, somewhat later, the ministers of foreign affairs and agriculture went to Bucharest. Aside from this, we initiated many steady cooperation ventures to come to the aid of children, of economic restructuring, and of the absolutely necessary training of cadres, in order to understand the mechanisms of the market and its legal rules. While in Romania, we did not neglect to answer the requests made to us to disseminate the French language and culture.

[Question] When and how do you believe that one can double this activity through large scale economic actions?

[Mitterrand] The considerable French effort to assist Romania is aimed at key spheres of the Romanian economy's modernization: agriculture and the food sector, energy saving, the restructuring of the iron and steel industry and the machine building industry, and the essential training of the people. In this respect, we suggested to the Romanian authorities the setting up of a

center for personnel training in Bucharest. Now, this effort must speedily find its logical economic extension, in the conclusion of appropriate contracts.

As a matter of fact, our exchanges, which started from a very low level because of the autarchic policy previously promoted by Romania, have substantially recovered. Some important contracts have already been concluded, such as the purchase of several Airbus planes.

We should make further progress, however. In this respect, there are positive signs—which should be implemented—in the talks currently under way regarding certain important projects in data processing, the automobile building industry, iron and steel, energy, and telecommunications as well as in tourism and the agricultural and food sector.

[Question] You have always justly maintained that a democratic Europe and world presupposes both a circulation of ideas and of men. Do you see the day when Romanian citizens will be able to visit France without a visa?

[Mitterrand] The very intensity of all sorts of exchanges in the past 15 months proves that the free circulation of ideas and men between our two countries have once more become a reality, something that we are all very pleased to see. In 1990 alone, the number of visas granted to Romanian citizens who wanted to visit France increased by more than 400 percent. The deadlines for the issuing of these visas were and will be further shortened. Finally, France decided that visas should be issued free of charge for young people below the age of 25. This proves that France intends to turn words into facts.

Dealing with problems raised by migration fluxes requires concerted efforts on a European scale. Together with our partners in the Schengen Accord, France has already acted along these lines. In a broader framework, the examination of these problems in a pan-European context has already begun at the Vienna conference organized at the start of the year on the theme of migratory fluxes. Finally, this issue, like many other issues facing all Europeans, could be examined at a European conference as I suggested.

[Question] Some time ago, you launched the idea of a European confederation. What is the basis of this project?

[Mitterrand] With the fall of the Berlin Wall and of the communist regimes in 1989, Europe has regained its history and geography. The East-West confrontation and the forcible separation of peoples sharing the same ideals are being replaced by a desire for cooperation and by the conviction of Europeans that they must jointly stand up to common challenges.

Many problems are not being tackled by the European bodies that already exist. That is why I advanced the project of a European confederation, to offer the Europeans a place where they can meet on an equal footing to jointly resolve their problems.

The meeting to be held in Prague, next June, at the invitation of President Havel and myself, will reunite personalities from all European countries that will examine this project.

[Question] Do you foresee a legal framework for French-Romanian relations in the context of the new developments in Europe?

[Mitterrand] The strengthening of our bilateral relations—an ongoing effort since December 1989—does make a contribution to this goal, to a certain extent. The great range of partner-like types of relations between us, the very numerous and comprehensive cooperation ventures, and the establishment of twin French-Romanian cities, regions, and villages have enriched and changed the structure of our contacts.

The rapprochement is thus acquiring a multilateral character. Thus, France used its influence with its partners in favor of the signing of the trade and economic and commercial cooperation agreement between Romania and the Common Market. France also supported the decision to grant Romania comprehensive financial assistance and special guest status at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

Depending on the subsequent development of our contacts and cooperation, we will be able to think up a new legal framework for our relations, for instance by negotiating a new French-Romanian treaty.

[ADEVARUL] Mr. President, what do you expect from this visit; with what thoughts are you going to Romania?

[Mitterrand] Relations between France and Romania are longstanding. They passed the test of isolation well. I hope that my visit will contribute to consolidating these relations in all spheres. I am happy that on the occasion of this visit I will be able to talk not only with Romanian officials, but also with many representatives of various trends of thoughts. Thus, my visit is an expression of France's friendship for the Romanian people and of France's determination to help them in the current transitions your country is going through.

[Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 18 April carries on pages 1 and 8, under the headline "In the Name of Basic Human Rights and Freedoms," the same interview with French President Francois Mitterrand, which is identical with the ADEVARUL version except for the last question and answer, which is replaced in the ROMANIA LIBERA by the following:

"ROMANIA LIBERA: France has a century of experience in the sphere of democratic concepts and structures. In your opinion, how can one support, assist, and consolidate the civil society currently being born in Romania and in other Eastern European countries?

"Mitterrand: We do not claim any monopoly on practice and knowledge in this field. From the experience of France and Europe in general, however, is it not quite obvious that the full exertion of basic rights and freedoms is a sine qua non prerequisite for the success of any democratic project and of the establishment of a state of law? Of course, the adoption of appropriate laws offers guarantees in this respect. Only practice, the daily implementation of the provisions of these laws, and their observation by all protagonists of political life, together with progress along the road of ever more diversified and pluralistic information offer the best guarantees in this respect, always and everywhere."]

Demonstrators Protest in University Square

AU2304193691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1830 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/4/1991—Tuesday afternoon about twenty youths unsuccessfully tried from time to time to block the traffic in the University Square. In the meantime several hundreds people were gathered in front of the Architecture Institute in that square.

At about 18.45 hours traffic was partially obstructed. After approximately half an hour, without a massive intervention of the order-keeping bodies, the demonstrators retreated on the sidewalks and traffic was resumed both ways. Anti-presidential, antigovernmental and promonarchist slogans are chanted.

Civic Alliance members distribute invitations to participants in the 53-day demonstration of last year to see the movie "Piata Universitatii-Romania" ["University Square-Romania"] at the Scala cinema house.

Government Spokesman Holds Weekly News Conference

Discusses Views Financial Issues

AU2304174291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1637 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/4/1991—On Tuesday, April 23, during his weekly press conference, government spokesman Bogdan Baltazar made a number of statements regarding: Romania's participation in the EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development], measures by the Finance Ministry to enforce laws pertaining to it, etc.

In the EBRD Council of Governors Romania will be represented by one governor, Finance Minister Theodor Stolojan, and one vice-governor, Romania's National Bank Governor Mugur Isarescu. Over three years Romania will also be alternate executive director of the bank's Board of Administrators, a post now held by Yugoslavia, and afterwards it will become executive director itself.

The financial control body of the Finance Ministry discovered unwanted but foreseeable phenomena in the manufacturing and circulation of goods on the second price liberalisation stage, like massive hiding of goods—to sell them at the higher price after April first or owing to delays in price negotiations—or sales of goods at higher prices than the maximal ceiling set by the law. The financial control body fined the culprits and the state budget confiscated the sums resulting from these illegal sales but, as Mr. Baltazar said, greater efforts must be made to check infractions in this field. Mr. Baltazar expressed his hope that the financial guard—which will start its activity before the end of April—will be much more effective in doing away with black market activities and corruption.

This year Romania is planning to spend about 120 million U.S. Dollars for the import of medicines, announced the government spokesman.

Mr. Baltazar also harshly criticised weekly "EUROPA" who, along with calumnious features on the prime minister, published articles asking for the elimination from the higher education teaching staff of Hungarian, Armenian or Jewish ethnics and other such materials "fascist in character" as well as stories proclaiming dictator Ceausescu a national hero and saying he should have been crowned. The government spokesman urged the journalists guild to take the necessary measures along with the other competent fora. According to the laws in force the newspaper "is already guilty of fascist-legionary propaganda, of propagating national and racist hatred, of justifying murder and odious murderers like the Ceausescu couple."

Views Cabinet Reshuffle, Possible Coalition

AU2304193591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1850 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/4/1991—During his weekly news conference, government spokesman Bogdan Baltazar, secretary of state, mentioned the attempts of some press organs, especially Hungarian, to minimize the results of the recent private visit paid by Petre Roman to the United States. In the governmental team's view, "it was a visit of great understanding and cordiality, a very successful visit that proved particularly solid and fruitful, for a better understanding of the real situation in Romania."

Romania's industrial production in March was 8.6 per cent higher than in February, although the first term production is still below that of the same time last year, government spokesman Bogdan Baltazar reported on Tuesday.

According to Mr. Baltazar, the "rebound" tendency had occurred despite unfavourable effects of energy resource and raw material shortage.

The number of persons registered for unemployment allowance amounted to 25,353 on April 1, the government spokesman reported. He added that another 65,000 persons were registered at specialized offices throughout the country, who claimed the allowance as a result of certain branches and production units being restructured.

The Romanian Government reshuffle will be general and take into consideration the highly competent independent personalities who can profitably act for the implementation of the reform, spokesman Bogdan Baltazar stated on Tuesday.

He specified that "a government of national unity, of coalition or concert" was out of question because the opposition did not offer concrete alternative to this end. This reshuffle, he added, can take place still this year.

Prime Minister Admits Vatra Romaneasca Chauvinism

AU2304103891 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 22 Apr 91 p 1

["L.A. Gy."-signed report: "Intolerable Chauvinism"]

[Text] At the second congress of the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMDK], Presbyterian Bishop Laszlo Tokes told our reporter that he had met with [Romanian Prime Minister] Petre Roman at the reception held in honor of the visiting French president, and Petre Roman told him that the chauvinistic attitude of the Vatra Romaneasca and of ROMANIA MARE has become intolerable. At the congress of the VMDK in Subotica, a movement that has 30,000 members now, Laszlo Tokes proposed the creation of a European national minority parliament and the creation of a uniform European federation to include all the organizations and movements of Hungarians living beyond Hungary's borders.

Government-TU Commission Called 'Dead Body'

AU2304153591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1515 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/4/1991—The non-affiliated trade union confederation "Cosin" criticizes the Government-Trade Union Commission for its idleness.

Reviewing the commission's activity in an interview published by trade union daily "REALITATEA," Nicolae Vlasceanu, president of that confederation, said, among other things, that it was "necessary but amounted to practically nothing, the Government-Trade Union Commission being, at the moment, a dead body.

"Despite a few points of common interest identified during the talks," the interlocutor said, "the essential issues are in suspension, while we are asked to allow for more time for negotiations and consultations with government bodies."

Referring to price liberalization in its latest variant, Mr. Vlasceanu appreciated that "while liberalization is in full swing, the fate of both employees and trade unions is growing dramatic with the passage of time."

Ex-King Accused of 'High Treason' as 'Agent'

AU2304154391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1359 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/4/1991—Senator Romulus Vulpescu addressed the government, during yesterday's question time, two interpellations: first, the senator demanded that the file of Marshal Ion Antonescu's trial should be reopened and asked the Romanian authorities in charge if it occurred to them to urgently invite to Romania the former King of Romania, at present the Swiss citizen Mihai de Hohenzollern, directly implicated in the arrest and trial of Ion Antonescu. Implicated, added the senator, to say the least, as number-one witness, if not as main culprit for the change of Romania's statute at the negotiation table from co-belligerent, allied and victorious country to the statute of occupied country under the pretext of liberation, then satellite country, knelt to bolshevism in no time. We should see, therefore, said the senator, if the ex-king should be held responsible for military rebellion and high treason, in his undeniable mission of communist agent, repaid, as a matter of fact even before Richard Sorge, with a high Soviet military order "Pobeda," and as beneficiary of innumerable other advantages, in his capacity as, chronologically speaking, first nomenklatura member.

Other charges against the former king could be: denial of assistance to a person in deadly danger (by refusing to make use of his royal prerogative of pardon) and, for more than two years, overt collaborationism with the Soviet occupants.

If we admit that a moral trial of communism in Romania is necessary, and I deem it is, then we should start it at once. 23 August is drawing near and the box where Romania's traitors should be is still empty, said Senator Vulpescu.

Secondly, the senator asked the Romanian competent authorities to confirm whether freemasonry is reviving in Romania and, if so, "by what legal ground will the lodges of this ambiguous association function, knowing its branches are spreading far into the occult communist international."

Ban on Sales in Hard Currency Announced

AU2204183991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1748 GMT 22 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/4/1991—During a press conference the governor of the National Bank of Romania, Mugur Isarescu, announced the institution approved currency regulations which forbid, inter alia, sales for hard currency in Romania. This measure comes

into force on May 3. The shops selling for hard currency are granted an accommodation period to sell for both hard currency and lei. Payments in the so-called free zones, tourism, foreign diplomats in Romania are considered exceptions from these regulations.

Mr. Mugur Isarescu also announced that the National Bank of Romania would put into circulation 500 lei bank notes in May, that 1,000 lei bank notes are to be issued as well as new 100 lei bank notes.

The governor of the bank informed that a programme had been prepared to unfreeze payments in the Romanian economy, to solve credit problems, to revive the national economy, a programme to be submitted to the government and, probably, to the Parliament.

In connection with the accounts of the Ceausescus it was specified that no progress had been made in identifying them, and that it was decided that the balance of payments for 1987-1989 be checked and expertised to the end of clarifying that question in about one month.

Support, Criticism for Markovic Program

LD2304225191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2213 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, April 23 (TANJUG)—Delegates to the Yugoslav federal parliament, in their debates in working bodies, today came to the conclusion that the revised programme of the federal government can be implemented only if political consensus is reached by the country's six republics and two provinces.

Those who took the floor in the first parliamentary debate on the programme warned of a danger that the federal parliament might see eye to eye with the government, while the republics and provinces might continue to pursue their separate policies.

The delegates supported in principle Markovic's programme presented to parliament last Friday, but voiced some specific criticisms. They feared serious social problems due to the government's failure to follow up on its moves in the macroeconomic sphere with corresponding social programmes.

Federal Development Minister Bozo Marendic said in the debate that the revised programme does not change development orientations, but only adjusts the reforms to the newly created situation in the country.

Vice Premier Zivko Pregl said that the programme has already won support in the international public and international financial institutions, but that support in the country is the most important.

Asked by a delegate from the Republic of Slovenia whether the federal government had taken into account that Slovenia will soon "go its own way," since the Slovenian people voted for independence in a plebiscite, Pregl said that the measures are made for united Yugoslavia.

According to Pregl, those who decide to disassociate, must alone bear the responsibility thereof.

Citizens, Not Peoples To Vote in Referendum

AU2204183091 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Apr 91 p 2

[D. Bisenic report: "Compromise Did Its Job"]

[Text] As we have been reliably informed, omitting peoples and defining citizens as the subjects of a referendum or plebiscite is the result of a political compromise that has been achieved. Vladan Kutlesic, member of the group of experts from Serbia, did not insist that peoples should appear as the subject of the referendum, which had been Serbia's political demand in conformity with the standpoint that Yugoslavia is a community of peoples and not just a community of republics.

There were no bigger quarrels in the work of the group of experts. All the work was done very efficiently between 0800 and 1300. There was discussion only concerning two points, for which alternatives had been presented: formulations of questions that contain two variants. In the formulation that was proposed by Kasim Trnka, his explanation says a "union of sovereign republics" also incorporates a "federal state," because a "federal state" is also a "union of sovereign republics."

The second dilemma over whether the results should be counted at both the level of the republics and at the level of the communes relates to those regions with mixed populations, for example, the Knin Krajina. Because the results are also being counted at the level of the republics, the majority peoples in them will have an assured advantage, if one assumes that they will vote in line with the present viewpoints of the republican leaders and the presumed national homogeneous view.

In those regions (communes) where other peoples and nationalities are in a majority (Albanians in Kosovo, Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Croats in Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina), recounting at the level of the communes will probably give different results than those that would be produced by counting at the republican level. For example, if the majority in the whole Republic of Croatia were to be in favor of a "union of federal states," but in the communes with a majority Serbian population the majority would be in favor of the "preservation of a federal state of equal republics," then this would be the basis for seeking the appropriate solution for these communes through further political dialogue.

There are also representatives of Slovenia and Croatia in the group of experts, but they did not attend the session this time. It was thought that the representative of Slovenia did not go to the meeting because a plebiscite has already been carried out in Slovenia and they think that the job is therefore finished. The absence of Croatia's representative was unexpected.

Group of Experts Issues Document on Referendum

AU2404085691 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Apr 91 p 2

[D.B. report: "The Fate of the Country in 13 Points"]

[Text] Skopje—The group of experts that met yesterday in Skopje adopted a document on the referendum that is formulated in 13 points. The text says:

1. The referendum is a form of preliminary [prethodno] voting, and the result of the referendum is binding for all the competent organs of a republic.

2. The referendum is carried out within the framework of the republics as an open procedure in the presence of outside observers from other republics.

3. a) Decisions (laws) on scheduling a referendum should be adopted by the republican assemblies in conformity with an agreement among the competent organs of each Assembly.

b) The decision on scheduling a referendum is made in a procedure envisaged by the SFRY Constitution.

4. The composition of the organ conducting the referendum in all republics should be balanced and ensure that the political structures in the republican parliaments are proportionately represented.

5. Interested observers will be able to follow the referendum as it proceeds.

6. Yugoslavia will inform the appropriate international organizations about the referendum.

7. The referendum should be set for the same time in all republics, held on the same day, and the voting procedure and results of the referendum should be established uniformly.

8. To conduct the referendum it is necessary to provide a jointly-agreed-upon explanation of the question being asked, which will be available to all the citizens who are voting.

9. Citizens should be given truthful information about what is being decided upon in the referendum.

10. All citizens within a given republic should participate in the voting, that is to say, adult members of the population whose place of abode is in the republic, so as to prevent speculative migration.

11. The question that is decided upon at the referendum says:

A) Are you in favor of:

1) the preservation of a federal state of equal republics;

2) Yugoslavia's transformation into a union of sovereign states.

B) Do you want Yugoslavia to be:

1) a union [savez] of sovereign republics, or;

2) to remain a federation [savez] of sovereign states

(The B variant was proposed by Kasim Trnka, group member from Bosnia-Hercegovina)

12. Results of the referendum are established:

a) at the level of the republics;

b) at the level of the republics and the communes.

13. To ensure that the results of the voting can be compared it is necessary to conduct the referendum in all republics.

The meeting of the group of experts was attended by: Kasim Trnka (Bosnia-Hercegovina), Gavro Perazic (Montenegro), Vladan Kutlesic (Serbia), Vlado Popovski, and Ljubomir Frckovski (Macedonia).

Federal Budget Estimates for 1991

LD2304220491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1410 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Summary] Belgrade, 23 Apr (TANJUG)—The federal budget for this year should amount to 138 billion dinars which in real terms is 26.5 percent down on 1990. According to federal budget estimates placed before the Yugoslav Assembly today, the funds to cover this expenditure will be secured from the authentic federal revenue amounting to 113.586 billion dinars. Federal units [republics and provinces] paid into the federal exchequer should be 8.393 billion dinars, and the budget will also be financed from federal bonds amounting to 16 billion dinars. Republican and provincial assemblies should express their views on the budget by 9 May this year so that it can be approved during a Chamber of the Republics and Provinces session soon afterward.

"The funds to finance the Yugoslav People's Army have been laid down in accordance with economy and rationalization measures at 68 billion dinars which, the explanatory notes say, is the minimum of resources with which to cover all the expenditure required for the Army's rountine work."

Other budget expenditure looks as follows: 4.8 billion dinars to finance social and other services in underdeveloped republics, 16.5 billion dinars for war disable welfare, 34.8 billion dinars for intervention in industry, outstanding 1990 commitments amount to 9.3 billion dinars, and 9.6 billion dinars to finance the work of federal organs.

Bank Official Views Country's Solvency

LD2304162491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1441 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, April 23 (TANJUG)—Vice Governor Branko Dragas of the Yugoslav National Bank today told TANJUG that the present hard currency reserves, together with all the other balance of payments factors, can secure normal payments of the country's foreign debts and the functioning of the domestic hard currency market.

Commenting on the position of the Yugoslav national currency, the dinar, after the latest 44.4-percent devaluation, Dragas said that its rate of exchange could now be considered real.

Dragas said that Yugoslavia's current foreign currency reserves of about six billion dollars are about equal to average quarterly payments to foreign creditors;

Dragas also said that the Yugoslav National Bank expects that the accumulated matured debts of 500 million dollars could be paid during May.

The vice governor also underscored that hard currencyv savings of Yugoslav citizens have reached about 11.5

billion dollars, and that the most important factor to stabilize this situation is to restore othe citizens' confidence in the system.

Dragas said that in late March this year the total savings of Yugoslavs had come close to 213 billion dinars of which 175 billion, or 82 percent, was in hard currency.

Speaking about the increased demands of Yugoslav citizens to withdraw their hard currency savings, Dragas said that they were based primarily and probably only, on the political instability in the country and lack of faith in the institutions of its system.

Vice Governor Branko Dragas said that the latest [word indistinct] of the federal government and the National Bank enable citizens to make withdrawals on their hard currency savings deposited after April 27 this year without any limitations, or to use them for payments abroad.

Serbia Condemns Federal Economic Policy

LD2404100791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2319 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, April 23 (TANJUG)—The Serbian Government assessed that the Yugoslav Federal Government proposed such economic measures for this year which it knew in advance that they would not be accepted by the republics.

According to the views of the Serbian Government, announced today, the economic policy measures of the Federal Government do not assess the real economic situation in the country and do not correspond to evaluations and stands set out in Prime Minister Ante Markovic's report presented in the federal (?parliament) on April 19.

The Serbian Government's report to the republican assembly said that the Federal Government's economic policy "completely failed" in the first three months of this year. The Serbian Government backed this assessment by noting that production dropped by 21 percent in the first three months of this year. Instead of introducing the promised external convertibility of the dinar, its internal convertibility has been abolished and the country's debts have increased by 2.5 billion dollars, said the Serbian Government.

The report goes on to say that the Federal Government's proposed measures envisage another 20 percent drop in production this year, a fall in the social product by 15 percent, investments by 30 percent and the standard of living by 11 percent.

On the basis of this, the Serbian Government believes that a collapse of Yugoslavia's economy could be expected.

Serbian Assembly Nixes Unification with Krajina

LD2304195991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1608 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Summary] Belgrade, 23 Apr (TANJUG)—The Assembly of Serbia met today to consider a number of issues, including appointments in Belgrade Radio and television and the fate of the property of former sociopolitical organizations.

"The Assembly today failed to endorse a proposed decision to support the unification of the Serbian autonomous region of Krajina, Slavonija, Baranja and western Srem with the Republic of Serbia, proposed by Milan Paroski. The majority of the deputies were against endorsing the decision but warned that, if need be, the assembly would raise the issue of support again once the negotiations on Yugoslavia's future are completed.

"The Assembly also rejected a proposed decision tabled by Slobodan Raketic from the Serbian Renaissance Movement to end the use of the Republic of Serbia flag with a five-pointed star. The proposal was rejected in view of the fact that a new law on the flag, the emblem, and the national anthem of Serbia will be passed at the end of September."

Moderate Croatia Serbs Silent to Avoid Revenge

AU2404084691 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 15 Apr 91 p 3

[Branko Podgornik report: "Between Silence and Terror"]

[Excerpt] Many Croats wonder why the Serbs in Croatia do not just form a "normal" political party, as the leadership of the Serbian Democratic Party does not wish to negotiate the position of Serbs in Croatia, but wants to create a (second) Serbian state within its territory. Many Serbian intellectuals in Croatia, and the so-called ordinary people as well, believe that the majority of Serbs are willing to accept Croatia as their motherland. They are willing to live in it and wish to be socially and politically recognized there, which really should not be doubted.

Silent Because of Fear

Nevertheless, reasonable Serbs in Croatia mainly remain silent. This is not helped even by the fact that the initiating committee for founding the second Serbian party in Croatia—the Serbian People's Party [Srpska Narodna Stranka]—met in Zagreb, as the response to it was unusually poor, even among its initiators. Out of 13 members of the initiating committee, only four came to the meeting—one of them wearing dark glasses. The very fact that "the moderates" among Serbs coming from "the earthquake prone regions" of Croatia must hide their identity in public, fearing revenge upon their return to the so-called Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina, gives a perfectly convincing reply to the question of why are "the reasonable Serbs" silent. In any state of (semi)

war the intellectuals remain silent simply because for one misspoken word or one wrong action they can get a bullet through their head, not only from the opposite side, but also from their own extremists. After all, two days after the meeting of the initiating committee of the Serbian People's Party, unknown opponents burnt the holiday cottage in Lika which belonged to the party's President, Milan Djukic. It probably seems to "the moderates" that the best solution is to keep a low profile while the armed skirmishes last and raise their voices when the thundering stops. [passage omitted]

Serbia-Montenegro Unification Group Initiative

LD2304220891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1911 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, April 23 (TANJUG)—The movement for unification of the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro formally launched an initiative here today for setting up a "Civic Movement for a Third Yugoslavia" to participate in elections for the federal parliament..

President of the Civic Movement's Yugoslav Assembly Milenko Ribic said the initiative had been launched because Yugoslavia can only be a federal state, not a unitary or a (?confederative one).

It has failed so far to settle either its national or its social question, or the question of democracy, while the subjects of future Yugoslavia can only be citizens, not the republics or the peoples, said Ribic.

He went on to read the text which proposes, among other things, that the capital of "third Yugoslavia" be [word indistinct] from the capital of Serbia—at present Belgrade is the capital of both Yugoslavia and Serbia—"so that it may at last assume the Yugoslav character."

According to the authors of the initiative, this should be an "autonomous federal city," located in the territory of Belgrade's present districts of new Belgrade and Zemun "and named Zemun."

They also want third Yugoslavia to have an assembly with two chambers—of federal subjects and of citizens [words indistinct] classical presidential system and a (?depoliticized) army, and they are opposed to social property.

The authors describe the model as "undoubtedly oppositional in character." The closing section of the initiative notes that the assembly of "second Yugoslavia" cannot enact a constitution of "third Yugoslavia," so that federal elections should be held for a constituent assembly.

The Movement for Unification of Serbia and Montenegro has 300 members and 12 thousand followers, said Ribic.

Uncertainties About Montenegro Incursion Persist

AU2204095391 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 11 Apr 91 p 3

[Branko Jokic report: "How Much Money Has Montenegro Seized?"]

[Text] Titograd, 10 Apr—The full details of a recent affair in which Montenegro made an incursion into the Yugoslav monetary system and through a secretly adopted law snatched over 2.5 million dinars are still unknown, and even less is known about the outcome of this affair. The statements by federal banking officials and by the leading figures of the Montenegrin government about whether all of the money or only a part of it has been seized are very controversial. Federal officials claim that Montenegrins did not succeed in seizing the whole amount, but the Montenegrin government tells a different story: We have taken everything and have shared it among ourselves. A few days ago the government also let us know that the Federation has already returned a part of its debt to Montenegro and that this amount has already been returned to the National Bank of Yugoslavia. In this case, the amount involved is more than 1 billion dinars.

Information on whether the Federation owes anything to Montenegro and how much that could be differs. Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic is of the opinion that the 2.5 billions grabbed do not cover the Federation's debt, as the latter, in one way or another, owes this republic at least another 0.5 billion dinars for the current year. Experts on the Montenegro situation nevertheless claim (some papers have even published it and so far no one has denounced it) that Montenegro received as much money last year as it had supposedly ever received since the end of World War II. Allegedly, the amount in question was 745 million dinars, and with this money Montenegro could pay out more than 85 percent of gross personal incomes. Where is this money, and how could the Montenegrin government issue to the Federal administrations a bill that is much higher? There are plenty of reservations and questions regarding this, but, of course, there are no answers, as all that matters at the moment is that personal incomes and pensions for the previous months have been paid out, that the social peace has been bought, and that the authorities will remain in power....

This affair could very easily become overshadowed by another one, featuring as its main protagonists the Montenegrin government, its first man, and some deputies who are also directors of major companies. Of course, they did everything in their power to conceal the matter because an agreement with a certain very reputable Belgrade company is involved, and everything is closely linked with the Montenegrin and Serbian leadership.

A rumor leaked to the public that Stanislav Cano Koprivica, director of a prominent and very powerful Montex foreign trade company from Niksic, has sent a letter to Djukanovic, in which he demanded an explanation about how and on

what basis the Belgrade Intereksport company signed a contract with the Montenegrin government in late March. By this contract Intereksport got an agreement to take over the future economic deals between Montenegro and the Russian Federation, which used to be Montex's and Titograd Industrijaimport's responsibility. In the last decade, the two proved themselves successful and capable of the job. Last year alone, these deals amounted to 11 percent of the entire payment operations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

Koprivica established that this contract will cause Montenegro a financial loss of $100 million. Therefore, he demands an answer. He has not got one yet, but it is also true that at the last session of the Montenegrin Assembly deputies became interested in the matter. The evasive answers that the government representatives were giving, made some deputies angry and they proposed that the representatives not answer it at all. Finally, they agreed that a written explanation will be issued in response to the legislative question.

Whether the Montenegrin government cares about the economic sovereignty of Montenegro and its companies at all, or whether it simply wishes to "transfer" this to Serbia as well (and then continue seizing from the Federation) is a question that also poses itself to a wider public. It is rumored that personal interests are at the back of all this—a number of papers have already published that Milo Djukanovic let himself be bribed, that his close relatives work in the Titograd branch of Intereksport, and the wife of a certain influential Titograd director and communist deputy is supposedly also employed in this company. It would also be interesting to add that Slobodan Milosevic' brother Borislav, who is a prominent manager in the Intereksport, also features on the official list of Montenegrin ambassadors....

Croatian Party Leader Denies Arms Plot

LD2204183491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1601 GMT 22 Apr 91

[Text] Zagreb, April 22 (TANJUG)—A trial of six members of the ruling Croatian Democratic Union (CDU) [HDZ] on charges of plotting an armed rebellion continued before the military court here on Monday with a testimony by Djuro Decak, secretary of the union's municipal committee in Virovitica, northern Croatia.

Decak denied the charge that the CDU had received arms and said that they belonged to the Croatian Ministry of the Interior.

He also denied any plans to liquidate individual army officers, saying he had received no assignment from Croatian Defence Minister Martin Spegelj to form any armed groups.

The court earlier decided to hold separate trials of Spegelj and another defendant.

Decak said, however, that at the meetings of the party executive, CDU members discussed ways to prevent Yugoslav army units "in their possible attempt to destroy democratic power in Croatia."

The presideng judge noted that these differ from his earlier statements, to which Decak said that he "was in a shock" during the investigation. He described how he had been arrested, after which he claimed to have been "in such a psychical [as received] condition that he could not think reasonably."

Slovenia's Rupel on Foreign Policy Issues

LD2304174991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1556 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 April (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia today endorsed "The Foundations of the Strategy of the Foreign Policy of Slovenia," a document prepared in the Slovene Foreign Affais Ministry due to be discussed tomorrow by the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia.

Dr. Dimitrij Rupel, republican secretary for international relations, said that the issues of the international recognition of an independent Slovenia and of the relations between other states and an independent Slovene state and the issue of the meaning of the "Europeanization" of Slovenia from the point of view of its defense and security have predominated in the discussions on this document so far.

Rupel also pointed out the importance of Slovenia joining international organizations, especially the United Nations. He spoke at length about Slovenia's contacts with foreign countries and expressed the hope that the international community will accept the fact of Slovenia's total independence. Rupel said that at the moment some countries are more favorably disposed to this and others less; he mentioned Austria, Hungary, and Germany among "the favorably disposed" countries, saying that there is also some support in Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. There are great reservations regarding Slovene actions in neighboring Italy, although the stands of the government and other organs and parties differ.

Statements were made in recent months, which, Rupel said, are trying to place Slovenia in a subordinate role.

Dr. Rupel believes that the endeavors concerning peaceful talks and an agreement in connection with the outstanding issues in Slovenia are of great importance for the international recognition of Slovenia to which all Slovene foreign political activity has been subordinated. Slovenia must attain at least a minimum agreement on Yugoslavia to make her road into Europe more convincing, he said.

Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene Presidency, said that during the independence process "a spirit of democracy in the attainment of this objective" must be demonstrated. For Kucan the essential question is whether independence will be gained through an agreement with the Yugoslav republics or through a unilateral decision.

Milan Kucan expressed his doubt whether in Slovene political practice everything is in fact developing along this line, recalling that the essence of the messages addressed by foreign statesmen was "that those who are bringing their own house down will not be welcome in the European house."

Slovene Dailies Criticize U.S. Envoy's Remarks

LD2304191991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1735 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Ljubljana, April 23 (TANJUG)—[Words indistinct] daily VECER criticizes today U.S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia Warren Zimmerman for speaking about Slovenia's efforts towards independence with "undiplomatic sharpness."

VECER also warns that pressure on Slovenia is growing [sentence as received]

Zimmerman's statements during a visit to the Slovenian capital Ljubljana yesterday only serve to confirm the thesis on the close links between Belgrade and the western guardians of the status quo in [word indistinct] the daily says.

Arguing that the French, the British and the Italians are wary of the possibility of new Austro-German ties with Slovenia and Croatia, VECER writes that "it is becoming clear why Western European interests are closer to a Serbian democratic federation than to any form of loose community on the territory of what is now Yugoslavia."

The Ljubljana daily NEZAVISNI DNEVNIK wrote today that the U.S. ambassador during his visit to Ljubljana yesterday suggested that Slovenia slow down its drive for independence it held its first multi-party elections only last year.

The daily says Zimmerman advised Slovenia to negotiate with the federal government and the Yugoslav Army on all disputes.

According to NEZAVISNI DNEVNIK, Zimmerman said the Americans were worried that Slovenia was not aware of the full costs of independence and that it did not realize that it would win no awards for secession. The U.S. ambassador stressed that the West would not oppose a peaceful and negotiatied alteration of borders, but he warned that (?without) an secession would most probably be attended by bloodshed. The daily also says Zimmerman expressed concern that Slovenia's secession would alter the balance of power in Yugoslavia, increasing the danger of a civil war.

'Alarm Bell' for Vojvodina Magyars

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[Zsuzsa Ladanyi report on interview with Vodvodina General Secretary Andras Agoston in Subotica on 22 April—recorded]

[Text] The Democratic Community of Magyars in Vojvodina [VMDK] held its second congress yesterday in Subotica, in a very difficult situation.

[Agoston] The objective of our congress was to incidcate to the VMDK membership, in a broader sense to the Magyars of Vojvodina, that we have arrived at another crossroads. When we learned about the program of the Belgrade government, and the idea therein that the autonomy of Vojvodina must in practice be abolished, that Vojvodina must be divided into four districts, this was for us the tolling of an alarm bell, that Magyardom would split into four. The Serbian government wishes to introduce an administrative model in the entire republic, in Vojvodina as well, according to which commissioners, appointed official would govern the districts. This model makes coordiantion between the districts, the discussion of joint issues, impossible. According to the statement of the chairman of government, every administrative function in practice will take place in the ministries.

Amid such circumstances, we are of the view that it is only by means of the minority self-government based on the personal principle that the Magyardom of Vojvodina can assert its collective interests.

[Ladanyi] Please explain in a few sentences what you mean by self-government.

[Agoston] In our opinion, minority self-government based on the personal principle ought to come about by our electing a minority council. Naturally, representatives could be designated to the groups too. We ask the republic's legislature that the minority council's jurisdiction should include the most important rights that can be exercised in the spheres of culture, education, and the provision of information. It would also be necessary that a predetermined sum from the Serbian Republic's budget be given for the realization of these functions.